Inside the Liberal Establishment

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SEPTEMBER 21, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

Professor Roger Freeman — *Exposes the Phoney-Baloney Welfare Statistics of LBJ*

Professor Ernest van den Haag — *Agrees We Need a New Immigration Law—To Discourage Immigration*

Professor Garry Wills — *Tells Us Things We Never Knew Before Concerning Race Hatred*

Also in This Issue

RICKENBACKER ON EVANS ♦ LEJEUNE ON MOLNAR ♦ WM. SCHLAMM ON ADENAUER ♦ SIR ARNOLD LUNN ON THE NEW MORALITY ♦ ALSO GANNON, KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN, RENSON, BUCKLEY, STURGEON

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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ the soothing disingenuities of the cooniest pol in the land, LBJ, are torn apart and rightly labeled by one of the country's foremost analysts, Professor **Roger Freeman** of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace. Even McNamara's (reckless?) economizing cannot offset the vertiginous rise in government spending for domestic services. . . . Prof. **Harry Jaffa** writes a powerful objection to Frank Meyer's iconoclastic Lincolnology. Prof. Jaffa (Political Science at Claremont College) obviously believes that moderation in pursuit of Meyer is no virtue. . . . Sociologist, psychoanalyst, controversialist, Prof. **Ernest van den Haag** lights into the new immigration bill because, like all its predecessors, it rests on a vision of America the Underpopulated. Which vision is now obsolete. . . . Prof. **Garry Wills** offers some incandescent meditations on the sources of hatred, the workings of prejudice, the psychic mechanics of capital punishment, the South, the Negro, the North, the many forms of excommunication.

➔ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** recounts the ritual irrelevancies of yet one more national convention of the National Students Association, which, however, was brightened during one fraction of a second by a resolution in favor of common sense. . . . Two dispatches from West Germany indicate the seriousness of potential changes in German policy. **William S. Schlamm** gives due credit to the miraculous Konrad Adenauer for pushing Germany to the point where Washington must choose between making Germany a full nuclear ally or watching her go an independent nuclear course. **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** remarks on Germany's 150-year-old tendency to look towards the East; observes that the CDU (Adenauer's party) has been in office a long time now; and measures the forces that will collide in the Sept. 19 elections. The Social Democrats, perhaps because they have diluted their socialist broth to soup kitchen viscosity, may be the winners. . . . Prof. **Russell Kirk** brings us up to date on the good work of the Reading Reform Foundation.

➔ M. Stanton Evans has X-rayed the Liberal Establishment in his book of the same name, says **William F. Rickenbacker,** and now the diagnosis is complete. So let's move on to therapeutics. . . . **Anthony Lejeune** very much appreciates Prof. Thomas Molnar's "political travelogue" on Africa, because Molnar is "frankly on the side of civilization, hygiene, prosperity, order, honesty and good government, whether black or white." . . . The premier *sf*ictioneer **Theodore Sturgeon** reviews new works by Cordwainer Smith, Lloyd Biggle Jr., Keith Laumer, and Poul Anderson, and the greatest of these is Smith. . . . And it's all topped off with two spectacular reports from London. Sir **Arnold Lunn,** whose versatility includes co-authorship of three books on religious matters, discusses the "new morality" (*i.e.*, "personal" religion) and the aberrations it spawns and is spawned by. . . . **Frank Gannon,** a graduate of Georgetown, now studying at the London School of Economics, pins down the Beatles and other British choristers, places them under the microscope of his 20-20 social vision, and pronounces them to be not only bugs, but dead bugs, though the Beatles did, at least, have rhythm. ➔

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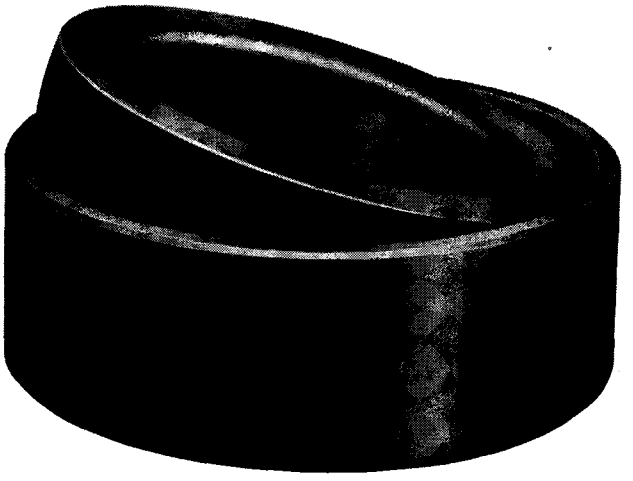

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TO THE EDITOR

Come Now, Mr. Burnham

Mr. Burnham makes two good points in his discussion, "Rhetoric and Medicare," [Aug. 24]: (1) the deductible provision is essential, and (2) NATIONAL REVIEW would render a service to its readers by publishing an analysis of the program (when the machinery is sufficiently set up to get answers to questions no one is now in a position to answer).

His basic point, however, does not seem to me well taken. It rests essentially on the proposition that in a complex society individuals must be *forced* to provide for misfortunes, since they (somehow) no longer have the wit to function as free citizens who make their own provisions and choices.

The greatest difficulty with Mr. Burnham's principled position is that it offers no place to draw the line short of full socialism. "Complexity" can be invoked at every turn, and Mr. Burnham's counsel would parallel Disraeli's: "Tory men, Whig measures."

New York, New York ELIZABETH MERRITT

I was saddened by James Burnham's definite (albeit reluctant) approval of Medicare. Any way you look at it, this "central government operation" of which he speaks is socialism applied to a large segment of our population in an important area of the problems of individual persons. Medicare is but a step (or more accurately a great stride) toward what the Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO euphemistically calls extension "of health insurance to cover the entire population and to meet the costs of all essential elements of medical care."

Medicare, I fear, will create more problems than it solves—problems for the doctors, the patients, the hospitals, the bureaucrats, the taxpayers.

New Orleans, La. EDGAR HULL, M.D.

Speaking of the attitudes of the people, I raise another point. I will assume *arguendo* that Medicare is not a Fabian, Communist, Liberal or Warren plot. I do not and cannot agree that "it arises ineluctably out of" certain stated conditions. My own conclusion is that there is a change in attitude on the part of the individuals involved. Granted it is a serious situation; not granted that the resultant militization of sympathy, with resultant loss of freedom, is the answer.

Berkeley, Cal. GEORGE W. KILBOURNE

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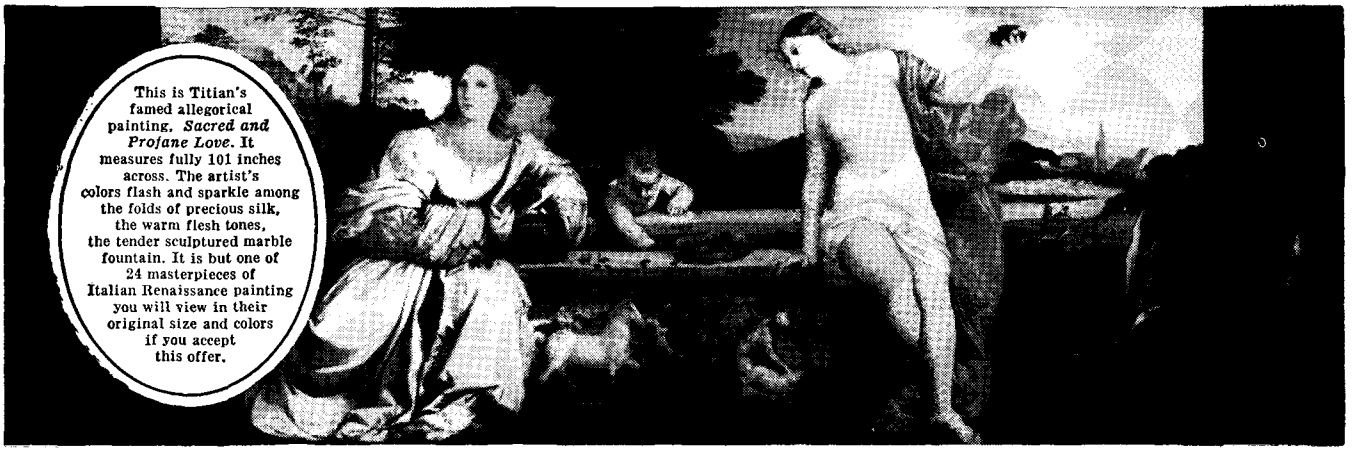

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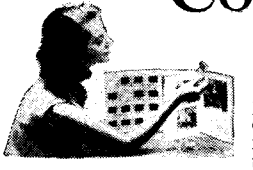

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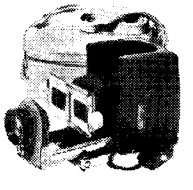

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The flaw in [Mr. Burnham's] position is his pious hope that "Medicare" will or can be administered *efficiently* and satisfactorily upon an even handed basis—he even says "We" (the people) *must* work to make it so?

One telling point Mr. Burnham did make, perhaps unintentionally or inadvertently, was that the socialist revolution has been successful, to such extent that we now have reached the point there is no country in the known world, worthy of consideration by any standard, which is *free*—that is, where the individual citizen is free from state socialist bureaucratic dictation, coercion, harassment, and distraint to the point of tyrannical oppression (all in the *name* of what's "good for us," of course).

Wilmington, Del. ALAN K. DOLLIVER

As to free countries, Mr. Burnham perhaps is unaware of Australia and New Zealand, which are almost completely free of government interference. In New Zealand it was only a medical profes-

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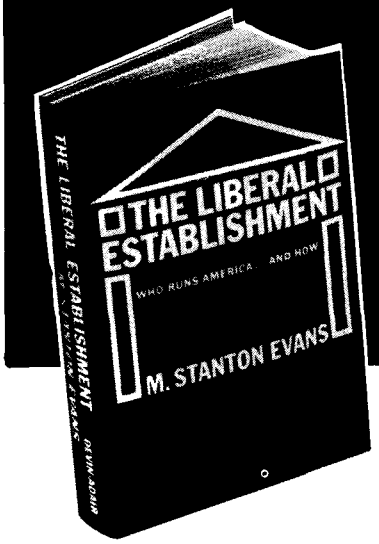

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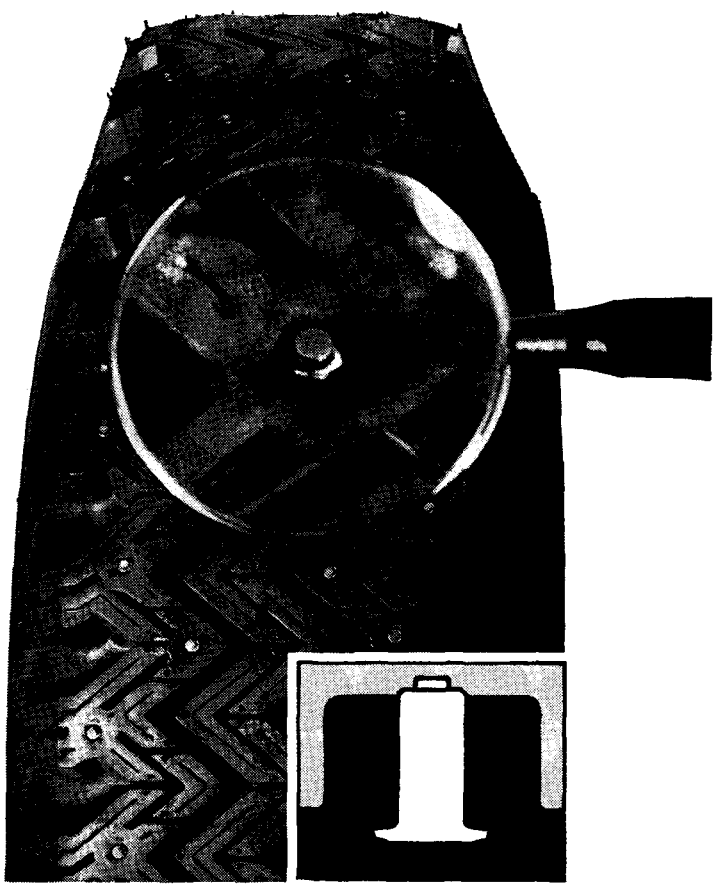

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St. Louis, Mo. ERNEST H. SCHAPER, M.D.

Not so Black in California

For three weeks now, I've been brooding over your gloomy prediction that Thomas Kuchel, with his cries of "Extremism," will help escort Pat Brown back to California's gubernatorial mansion. This time I think you're wrong. It may be a cliffhanger with those of us on the East Coast chewing our fingernails until 10:00 the next morning, but Ronald Reagan will win the election.

The extremist charge doesn't bother people much in that politically adventurous state. Californians have sampled extreme Liberalism, and conservative Republican gains last November indicate that they are ready for a change. Even Pierre Salinger noted ruefully that his partisans were extremely independent.

It is true that the GOP is distinctly a minority group. Democrats outnumber Republicans by roughly 1,500,000, but the latter have a much better attendance record at the polls and they are over 90 per cent loyal to their party. Democrats feel less kinship with their own and tend to wander over the ballot picking the candidates they like best. If the best man has a good campaign, he usually wins, and generally these days the GOP has the more attractive candidate. . . . of course, even at this late date, Pat Brown might wake up, but I think it more likely that we will have a Reagan-Yorty contest to worry about. What with Jimmy Roosevelt being hurried off to the UN, it appears that LBJ has declared California a political disaster area, and I, for one, will be interested to see what Kuchel can possibly do in these circumstances except play 'possum.'

Atlanta, Ga. MARGARET D. HUDSON

Dignity in Defeat

What a delightful article by David C. Johnson [August 24]. I know just how he felt, even though I am much older than fourteen, but just as ardent a fan as he for Senator Goldwater. My children, also, had similar school experiences during the election, and, like David, maintained their dignity in defeat with a staunch commitment to principles over popularity—and may they always do so! Congratulations to David for his brave stand—he might just become a worthy candidate for President himself, someday!

Inglewood, Cal. PHYLLIS MATHERLY

In Point of Fact

Although I completely agree with the general ideas in the paragraph on the nuclear bomb in "Focus on Washington"

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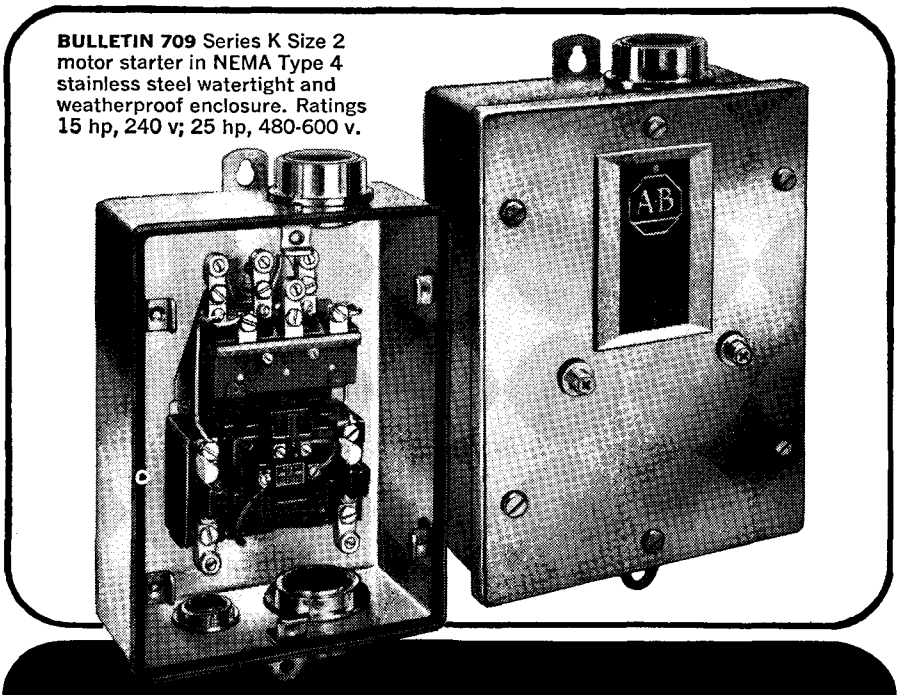

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[August 24] 1965, it should be pointed out that there are several errors of fact in this statement.

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The statement that the body does not store radiation is true, but the important thing is that it does store indefinitely the ill effects of radiation, and all radiation effects are apparently cumulative throughout life; so this statement is very misleading.

Corpus Christi, Texas

L. M. GARRETT, M.D.
Radiologist

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The WEEK

● Within ten days the President will sign into law a bill authorizing the expenditure of $90 million. The $90 million is needed for discovering whether railroad trains can run real fast between cities, at speeds of 150 miles per hour. It will be spent as follows: $1,000 for travel and expenses for one man to go to Japan and actually see the trains traveling at 150 miles per hour between cities, and $89,999,000 for entertainment and miscellaneous administrative items.

● Madame Chiang Kai-shek is in New York, the city where she went to school, and to which her many friends always welcome her return. She will, we hope, make a public appearance or two before returning to Taiwan, at which her audience will have the opportunity to communicate its warm admiration for her.

● Richard Nixon, back from his business trip to Southeast Asia, writes that there is only a single basis for a "settlement" of the Vietnam war—"Communist withdrawal of their forces" and "Communist agree[ment] to quit infringing on the independence and territorial integrity of South Vietnam. We cannot," Nixon concluded, "afford to leave without a victory over aggression." Nixon served notice on the President that if South Vietnam is "settled" in the Laotian manner, he, Lyndon, will not soon hear the last of it. "In the event that the war in Vietnam is ended by so-called 'negotiations,' or by referring it to the United Nations, or by some of the very loose proposals that have been made, in a way that the aggressors are rewarded in any degree, then Vietnam will be a campaign issue. Republicans, as the loyal opposition, would have the responsibility to make it an issue." To paraphrase Lincoln, we wish other Republican leaders would "drink" the same business trips.

● The 218th Representative has signed the petition to discharge the District of Columbia Home Rule bill from Committee, thereby assuring a House vote (and passage) by the end of the month. Altogether a striking victory for the President. Most congressmen don't want Home Rule, and the last several dozen signatures represent roughly an equal number of permanently wrenched limbs—perhaps one may pardon Mr. Johnson for the extravagance of his statement that the fight for the bill was "the final battle of the American Revolution." Ultimately, however, the advent of a mayor and City Council of Washington will be an ordeal by fire for the civil rights movement. Washington is the one city in the nation in which absolute domination by civil rights groups is conceivable. It is too early to predict whether civil rights groups, once invested with temporal power, will inaugurate an age of reason; or whether they will go hog wild. At any rate, we will start hearing a little less about police brutality, though perhaps a little more about the crime rate.

● The appearance of a new book attempting to vindicate the convicted atomic spies, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, reminds us that the Left Never Gives Up. You can catch them redhanded, give them trial by jury, convict them, sentence them, and execute them—and their friends still consider the corpses as among the walking wounded, soon to be rehabilitated. Alger Hiss comes out of jail to write book reviews and be quizzed by Howard K. Smith on the character of Richard Nixon. Owen Lattimore reconnoiters Outer Mongolia for the State Department just prior to its admission to the UN. They never give up. Sure, there are people around on the Right who will tell you Dreyfus actually *was* guilty, but their books don't get front-page reviews.

● Although M. Alain Peyrefitte, Minister of Information in President de Gaulle's Cabinet, declared that Minister of Culture André Malraux' Peking talks with Chinese leaders had been "of very great significance," no one has indicated just what they were significant of. The view of most analysts is: of nothing much, except de Gaulle's afflatus, and Mao's pleasure in having a world-renowned Western intellectual at his feet for ten days. A Sino-Gallic exchange of art exhibits will doubtless follow in due course, but de Gaulle's hope of using a special relation to China as lever for lifting France into the front global rank remains, for the time being at least, more dream than policy.

● The August 7 issue of the *Economist* carries a long survey on South Africa that could not have been published without many a deep sigh, as if the editors had said, "Well, we have tried to ignore it, we have tried to boycott it and insult it, but it is still here, and it's time we took a look at it, and dealt with it as it is." This the report does, not with sympathy but with accuracy, which is also important, and if the influence of the *Economist* is what it's cracked up to be, the August 7 number may herald the end of blind denunciations and self-defeating sanctions.

● This week's battle in the War on Poverty took place at Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky, where the working classes rebelled against the ruling classes, winning one fire truck and a monkey wrench, and

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accounting for a heart-warming quantity of casualties. Thirty Job Corpsmen are missing in action. Seven have been court-martialed, busted, cashiered, and sentenced to an indefinite term of civilian life. Two general officers are AWOL. *C'est la guerre.*

Why Not Let Them Fight It Out?

Nehru once said that in modern times there is no justification for war, any time, any place, over any issue. He said that about nine months before sending in troops to make war against little Goa. A short while later he found himself waging war against the Chinese Communists, who had begun helping themselves to large gulps of Indian territory off to the northeast.

Instead of reminding Nehru of his graven disdain for the use of force, we—quite rightly—shipped India oceanloads of arms and ammunition; and in due course the northeast front was pacified.

But meanwhile we greatly antagonized Pakistan. Pakistan's point was that India would use those self-same arms not merely to protect herself against Red China, but to give a cutting edge to her hostility towards Pakistan. So we gave arms to Pakistan too, as in fact we had been doing previously, Pakistan having logged a faithful record of anti-Communism in the postwar years. But Pakistan was not so easily mollified, deciding that rather than rely on her enemy's (India's) friend (us), she would court the common enemy (Red China). This she proceeded to do by various means, mostly cultural and economic, thus generally aggravating the entire situation.

The proximate bone of contention between India and Pakistan is the disputed territories of Kashmir. Pakistan desires Kashmir. India desires Kashmir. Kashmir desires Pakistan (because Kashmir is 80 per cent Moslem, which is Pakistan's reigning religion, while Hinduism is India's). The obvious solution all along has been to permit a plebiscite in Kashmir, a solution Nehru all along refused to consider, for the same reason that he would not permit a plebiscite in Goa: India would lose.

The problem of Kashmir is now exactly eighteen years old, *i.e.*, as old as the independence of India. The United Nations is 20 years old. The United Nations has thus had eighteen years to solve one of the simpler problems in the world, and in a manner as simple as it is obvious—free elections.

UN officials, however, have been too busy firing cannon into orderly ranks of Katangese, urging the recognition of Red China, railing against the Portuguese in Africa, against the South Africans in Southwest Africa, etc. At last Mr. Thant has gone grandstanding to India, as the war heats up.

One wishes him well, of course. Mr. Thant's own moral relativism (he is always yakking about Western colonialism, never about Eastern colonialism) ought to equip him to understand the pseudo-moralism of India: *i.e.*, he and Mr. Shastri ought to be able to sit down and moralize together on the understanding that neither one of them believes a single thing the other says; and, not inconceivably, progress could result. Meanwhile, the United States has cut off all military aid to both countries—an appropriate gesture, although not a very meaningful one considering that both countries have enough ammunition stored up to kill an awful lot of people. And what does the Soviet Union do? We kid you not, it has tendered Moscow's "good offices" towards the settlement of the dispute, an offer that has been solemnly relayed to the United Nations.

Surely here is a situation in which it would be prudent for the United States to decline to involve itself. It is not a matter of great importance to the average American who—India or Pakistan—rules over Kashmir. It *is* a matter of great importance that *we* should not end up having to rule over it. Still, we should keep an eye open to the possibility that Moscow will advance its good offices too aggressively. Let the UN desist, for a moment, from paying tribute to itself, and get down to work and try to solve this one. If it can't, it can't hope to solve anything.

Tick-Tock, Clank-Clunk

I own a clock that Aaron Willard made.
It started ticking during Adams' term
And timed the days of cannon and cockade,
Defying friction and the hungry worm.
A clock's a very delicate affair.
None made a better clock than Willard, yet
A subtle tilt results in subtle wear,
Unseen behind the polished cabinet.
I've got a notion nations are like clocks:
When pendulum and wheels are working well,
They function like a fugal form of Bach's;
They're rhythmic as the whorls around a shell.
Well, Lyndon's on another tilting kick.
(The only "check and balance" left is SNCC.)

W. H. von Dreele

Thank You, Mr. President

Bad habits once begun are tough to kick. The early Kennedy Administration fell prey to the temptation to intervene in every labor dispute that rated more than one-inch headlines, and for a few months (as NATIONAL REVIEW noted at the time, and deplored) poor Mr. Arthur Goldberg, then Secretary of Labor,

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Vacation Notes

(A letter from a reader, a Belgian settled in Georgia as a machinist).

Jekyll Island, or more exactly, Brunswick, Ga., is about 275 miles from Atlanta. For scenic beauty, Southeast Georgia has nothing comparable to North Georgia. Miles after miles of pecan or peach trees can get monotonous. The small towns all look alike. The inevitable Baptist church, the dilapidated service station with its garland of hirsute loafers and general atmosphere of dirtiness and inefficiency, the fat middle-aged man sprawled on the front seat of a recent vintage car engaged in conversation with an old codger leaning on the car window.

We got to Brunswick by 4 P.M. and, contrary to what you might be tempted to think, now that you are familiar with my epicurean foibles, I did not even give a thought to the "famous" Brunswick stew. Prejudice, I am afraid. Bona-fide experiences with Georgia roadside eateries have convinced us that Southern fried chicken for instance, is a grossly overrated specialty. Were I business-minded, and a chicken producer as well, I would want to experiment with chicken livers; there has got to be some way to concoct a product which would be the poor man's foie gras. Not every brand of commercial foie gras—made with geese livers—contains truffles, you know. The difference in taste between chicken and goose liver does not constitute the major obstacle to the development of foie gras de poulet. I think—just a "fin bec's" intuition—that the real problem would be to select the right kind of "fat" (that's what lends unctuousness to the French foie gras—goose fat, if I am not mistaken), the right kind of condiments and, last not least, the right proportions. Corollary to my little proposition about chicken livers: these could be made as a sort of paté or spread, mixed with pork fat (hey, maybe that's it, the snowy fat of Porky!) and pork meat. There are literally hundreds of kinds of either fresh or canned patés on the European markets. Paté de lievre (hare), paté de porc, some with minute amounts of Madeira or Champagne in the formula, but everyone of them fairly cheap and so much more gooder than the mass-produced junk presented under cellophane (vacuum pack) and protected by two kinds of anti-rot chemicals.

You: "What is this, a vacation report or an ode to blutwurst?"

Jekyll, as you know, once was the exclusive retreat of millionaires. Some of their former mansions are still there and Rockefeller's is now a "museum." You can see in what kind of decor the "dirty capitalist" lived graciously. What shocked me was the outside balcony running the full length of one side of the house. Just plain wood, with the typical blistered white paint, standard under the fierce Georgia sun. Had I been Rocky, I would have commissioned the best craftsmen in iron arabesque in Noo-Orleen to build me a balcony that would have caused neighbor Gould to choke on his Benedictine. Du bois, pfutt.

The most beautiful place in Brunswick is a weatherbeaten clapboard shack pompously called the City Market. They have all kinds of fresh fish. For 88¢, we ravished two lovely, adolescent trout (our young demoiselles care not for fish, fresh or otherwise) and returned in great haste to the camp. The first fresh fish of 1965! On the island itself, there is a supermarket of modest proportions which, believe it or not, stocks no fresh seafood. All the frozen fish fillets and seafood you want.

Campers are said to be the friendliest people of all, and this is fairly true. The hardest part, if I may (again) compare with Continentals, is breaking the ice, judging from our own experience. The gregarious instinct is so strong and is so insidiously assisted by a dash of curiosity that the time comes when you are exhausted from badminton, bored with the paperback; and when the best bikini crossing yields nothing but visions of varicosed calves. You are then ready to brave a rebuff and make the first overtures. One extremely large gent strode across the clearing from his rather bohemian and obviously homemade trailer abode towards a tent next to us. A minute later, he was in front of us, bearing a couple of barbecued pork chops. You could guess that he had just offered his surplus to the other guy and had been turned down. We would have—just for that—accepted the stuff even if it had been fried okra. That's how we got acquainted with the Cochrans, Dallas, Ga., as proclaimed by a large cardboard sign in front of their campsite. The very type of rural Georgia Cracker that I am always knocking. But even so we got along fine. They took us deer watching at night. This is a wildlife refuge and, if you have a strong flashlight, you can actually pick out of the bushes on each side of the road first the eyes, then the rest of the deer. We had no idea. Another family, also from rural Georgia, talked us into going swimming at 9 P.M., in the dark, something we would never have thought of doing if left to our own devices.

The Okefenokee. The local boys who navigate the tourist boats all sport Beatle haircuts. Yvonne, 15, got so smitten with one of them she quit looking for live alligators in the brackish water.

We came home satisfied and with a happier disposition which even the news that we are going down from 48 to 40 hours at the shop failed to alter.

Meilleures amitiés

A. T. RENSON

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield's trial balloon speech, arguing that there is little difference between the conditions set for "negotiation" by the United States and the North Vietnamese Communists, made some happy headlines in the *Washington Post*. But it hardly stirred up the storm that had been anticipated, possibly because the public does not know where the Communists stand. One firm Hanoi pre-condition for talks is that they be preceded by the withdrawal of "foreign troops"—a ploy which allows them full semantic latitude. In Communist eyes, the North Vietnamese regulars and the Vietcong irregulars, the preponderance of whom infiltrated the borders of South Vietnam, are local patriots fighting against American "imperialism," hence not "foreign troops."

But even if there should be some acknowledgment from Hanoi that its regular and irregular units are fighting in South Vietnam, there is no conceivable way to determine whether or not these troops are withdrawn. Or whether, if withdrawn completely, they do not immediately pour back across the borders. American and Australian troops will be out, but this will leave the country at the mercy of its Communist neighbors. Had the Majority Leader spoken as an individual, his views might be rejected. But along Embassy Row, it was quickly pointed out that the Mansfield speech was cleared by the White House and State Department—and that it was sent to all governments interested in a "negotiated" peace in Southeast Asia. There are, in fact, persistent rumors that secret talks between the Communists and the United States have already begun, and that Mr. Mansfield's declaration is a preview of what the negotiators will propose to their governments, the U. S. included.

◆ The push—or is it putsch—for East-West trade moves on apace. Senator Mansfield has hinted to AFL-CIO President George Meany that if he does not withdraw his objections to a new "wheat-to-the-Kremlin" deal, the Administration will quietly drop its pressure for repeal of 14(b). Mr. Meany, whose boiling point is notoriously low, reportedly replied in blue and angry terms. Wheat to the Soviets is only a small part of the picture. In the past months, the Administration has licensed the shipment in multimillion-dollar lots of technical data for the construction of plants whose end products are petrochemicals, synthetic fibers, plastics, propane, butane, and gasoline—all with military uses. Though copper is needed in this country for the Vietnamese war effort, twelve licenses have been issued in the past two months authorizing the shipment of copper scrap to Yugoslavia. The Commerce Department has okayed deals that in effect gave the Soviets the know-how to go into production of polystyrene, used as a binder in explosives and as an igniter for certain types of rockets. Highly automated mining machinery has also begun to move to the Soviet Union—along with data on the construction of a nitrate fertilizer plant.

◆ The nine-point program for stabilizing the dollar, released on September 8 by the Republican National Committee, will not receive much attention at the White House. But this sober and sobering document, prepared under the direction of Maurice H. Stans, President Eisenhower's director of the Budget Bureau, reflects a growing fear among political observers here that the Johnson Administration intends to offer a placebo rather than the necessary remedies for the balance of payments deficit. Bulletins from the White House have been uniformly optimistic. But the figures being gathered by government economists belie the sanguine view expressed by President Johnson. The fourth quarter will tell the tale—or so it is being predicted here—and it will not be an impressive one. Most worrisome is the fact that the once favorable position of U. S. exports over imports is rapidly deteriorating. If exports continue to toboggan, the overdraft on Ft. Knox will be phenomenal.

—CATO

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was hopping all over the country, setting wages for this industry and prices for that, pension scales for this union and vacation schedules for that.

Now we have escalated. From a President whose father had always told him all businessmen were etc., we have moved to a President who gives all etc.'s the business. Mr. Johnson picks up the telephone, bypassing the Cabinet, and talks directly to you and me about my wages and your prices. May I have $1.42 an hour next year? Thank You, Mr. President. Are you going to raise the price of cold rolled steel? Be sure to say Thank You to the President of all the mill people.

It is the conservative's permanent obligation to ask, and ask, and ask, Where does this all end? If it is only the personal telephone call from the President which can settle negotiations in steel, how will things go in the auto industry? Why not get the White House into the shipping strike? Do the airline engineers feel the White House has snubbed them? Is there anything that is beneath the Presidential notice? Will the whole country wake up some horrible morning chanting Thank You Mr. President?

Mr. Johnson, his advisers, his friends in Congress, and the entire Liberal Establishment appear not to care about the answers to these questions. Certainly the questions are not asked by them. And yet the country is entitled to know what lies at the end of the path it's taking. Only when the ends are clearly in view can intelligent choices be made. No people actually choose 1984. All 1984s arrive by mistake.

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"You're putting words in my mouth! Just because I advocate eliminating the states doesn't mean I advocate eliminating the Interstate Agencies! That would mean the Federal Government might have to get out of power, construction, manufacturing, warehousing, real estate, banking, insurance, education and welfare businesses and get back into Federal Government!"

And in 1984 the tone of voice may be different when it says Thank You, Mr. President.

Men and Masks

Ghost-like, masked figures of Alger Hiss and Robert Oppenheimer are forever emerging from the shadows to claim a seat at our banquets. And inseparably though diversely linked to these two wraiths are the enigmatic shapes of Whittaker Chambers, now a ghost only, and Haakon Chevalier. Chevalier, silent for a decade in the underblows, has suddenly been heard from. A book by him—*Oppenheimer: The Story of a Friendship*—once more raises all the questions.

"The Chevalier incident" was the axis of the Oppenheimer case. Chevalier—translator into English of Malraux's *Man's Fate*, of Aragón, Vercors and Dali—was approached in the winter of 1942/43 by George Eltenton, who (this much all finally have confirmed) suggested that Oppenheimer should communicate "information" to Soviet scientists. Chevalier later told Oppenheimer (though with what motive is not confirmed) about this encounter. In his sessions with security officers of the Manhattan District, Oppenheimer at first said nothing of the incident; then gave a series of accounts (concluding in the 1954 investigations) that are ("because I was an idiot") mutually contradictory.

This incident was the turning point of Chevalier's life—and, he believes, of Oppenheimer's. Chevalier transformed his own interpretation first into a novel (*The Man Who Would Be God*) and has now specified it in what purports to be history. He presents Oppenheimer in dual but parallel terms: as a Greek Hamlet, ravaged by his tragic flaw, who betrayed at once his own Marxist principles and his dearest friend (Chevalier, who—quite literally—adored Oppenheimer: "I have loved no other man. . . . You are so close to me that despite the immensities that separate us, I somehow regard you as almost a part of myself," he wrote to him in 1954, after the release of the Gray Committee transcript), from pride and from the obsessive search for a pre-eminence he could not gain in his scientific field—for he did not have the creative gift of the great scientist—but which was offered him as production director of the ultimate weapon. Chevalier's psyche was apparently arrested in those 1937-43 years when he and "Ojie" savored their "time of innocence . . . far to the left in the political spectrum"; he writes today in terms of all the outmoded clichés of Stalinist Popular Frontism. But it is fascinating to see the career of Oppenheimer in this Marxian perspective, where the "long, golden moment" during which he "shared the ideal of a socialist society" and "identified himself in spirit with the battle of the Spanish people for their Republic, with the epic struggle of the Chinese Red Army, with the strides made by the Soviet Union" shifts dialectically into its opposite phase when Oppenheimer "on all the touchy questions relating to peace and war . . . had become the spokesman of the most hidebound conservative government circles, of those that wield the power, whichever political party . . . is in the saddle," when, "a Faust of the twentieth-century, he sold his soul to the atom bomb."

In this lens distorted by Chevalier's banal ideology and personal anguish (or pique), we must keep skeptical fingers crossed; but Chevalier's interpretation, granted the mysteries, is as plausible as others. Reading this book renews the wish, the hope, that at least one of these two doomed men, each so close to the troubled heart of our age, will choose, before he dies, to take off those masks—all of them—by which they have so long hidden their true countenances from their fellows.

YAF Convention: Personal Notes

The recent national convention of Young Americans for Freedom was a considerable success. YAF's maturity is evident in many ways: in the smoothness

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with which it ran its convention; in the principled pragmatism that led it to form a new Political Action Committee (YAFPAC!) while rejecting the counsels of the schismatics and extremists who inhabit and seek to dominate any vibrant organization; in its exuberant growth (now pushing 40,000); in the steadily improving journalistic quality of its official magazine, the *New Guard* (which has unobtrusively taken its place among the four or five major publications of the American Right).

YAF's progress in the five years since the Sharon Conference is primarily due to its leadership. Its outgoing chairman, Robert Bauman, is a professional politician in the best sense; as, indeed, he had to be, to navigate among the financial and factional shoals that confronted him in his vigorous three-year term. His successor, Tom Charles Huston of Indiana, radiates a primal personal integrity, and conceals remarkable intellectual and political agility behind a façade of Hoosier folksiness. He was named the outstanding senior in the Class of 1963 at Indiana University, where he is presently a third-year law student. He chaired the Indiana delegation to President Eisenhower's White House Conference on Children and Youth in 1960. Huston is a Phi Beta Kappa and *magna cum laude* who found time to lead a successful movement to get his university out of the National Student Association, and to form a national anti-NSA group. At 24, he is one of the young luminaries of American conservatism. He will be assisted, as was Bauman, by Executive Director David Jones, an administrator of dazzling competence.

Jesuits and Catholic Gentlemen

Beaumont College is a venerable Jesuit school for boys, thirteen to eighteen, founded just over one hundred years ago and situated at Runnymede, six pastoral miles from Windsor Castle. Even when spanking new as a school, it felt the aplomb of tradition, and challenged nearby Eton College to a cricket match. The frosty reply from Eton's rector was: "What is Beaumont?" To which Beaumont's rector elucidated: "Beaumont is what Eton used to be, a school for Catholic gentlemen."

A couple of years ago, when Beaumont celebrated its centennial, the alumni, or Old Boys as they are called over there, were ploughed and reploughed for a little pound sterling with which to refurbish and expand Beaumont's facilities.

A few weeks ago, a letter from the rector to the Old Boys announced that Beaumont was closing down; or, rather, that it would be amalgamated with Stonyhurst, the other prominent Jesuit college, in North England. The response of the Old Boys, circulated through The Beaumont Union, says something about the growth of the independence of the laity. The anonymous Canadian Jesuit who made the decision to close down Beaumont, having surveyed the English scene and cahooted with Rome, is denounced as everything but a Comsymp: "The subject matter of the decision is hard enough to stomach," writes H. C. Dickens, Esq., OBE, Vice President, along with Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Russell, and other members of the Union. "The manner in which the decision was reached is beyond comprehension: as a combination of naiveté, ineptitude and treachery, it has surely never been surpassed." Well, all that goes to show is that some Old Boys have forgotten what they learned about general history at Beaumont, and about Jesuit history elsewhere. But hyperbole aside, it does seem a bad way for Jesuits to treat Catholic gentlemen, simply to spring it upon them, without consultation. Still, it gives one hope that apparently hopeless things can after all be accomplished. One wonders whether the mysterious Canadian Jesuit could be persuaded to travel once again to Rome, and induce the authorities there to amalgamate *America* Magazine and Stonyhurst?

Albert Schweitzer, RIP

Up until relatively recently, to criticize Dr. Albert Schweitzer was held by the American opinion-making community to be sacrilegious. Far better to criticize Divinity, than to criticize contemporary divinities. And Dr. Schweitzer was as firmly one of these as one could become. He was almost beyond the reach of criticism, along with a very few others—Einstein, maybe Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Mahatma Gandhi. All of a sudden Schweitzer was in Outsville, and students of the rites of Liberalism were naturally interested in why that should have come to pass; interested to know just what apple he ate to cause himself, suddenly, to be hurled out of Paradise.

Dr. Schweitzer, after all, was quite a man. It might even be said that he was the twentieth-century's Promethean man. First he was a musician, specializing in the performance (on the organ) of the works of J. S. Bach, and author of a definitive two-volume work on Bach. Then he announced himself as a theologian, earned a degree, and wrote copiously on theology. Then he entered a medical school and became a doctor. But of course the most conspicuous thing he ever did was suddenly to remove himself from Europe, which lay prostrate at his feet, and repair to a tiny inaccessible corner of Africa, and there in Gabon, he set up a hospital where for decades he ministered to the sick and leprous; where he died last week in active duty. ➔

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What a climax, his self-removal to Africa, to an already illustrious career! The engines of approval wheezed into play and before long the doctor's name was sacred. He won all the routine prizes, including the Nobel Prize; biographers lined up to write his life, and universities begged him to come around for honorary degrees.

And then the reputation began to falter. Mr. John Gunther reported several years ago, in his book *Inside Africa*, that the hygienic conditions in Dr. Schweitzer's hospital were appalling. The general reaction was twofold: a) that there was no reason to suppose that John Gunther would recognize a hygienic condition if it hit him over the head; and 2) if there was a little grime or soot in the hospital at Lambarene, so what? So isn't that like criticizing the molecular structure of the clay used by Michelangelo in shaping the *Pietà*?

But then Dr. Schweitzer said some extraordinary things during the Katanga crisis of two years ago, which will be recalled as that masterstroke of U.S. diplomacy wherein we decided that the Congo was not big enough for Moise Tshombe. The doctor—who heretofore had been utterly available to the Establishment for congenial political remarks, who had done yeoman work for the pacifist and anti-nuclear groups, who had even defended the regime in East Germany—said he thought it quite foolish for the West to take dogmatic anti-colonial positions in Africa, that anybody who had eyes in his head could see that the Africans were not prepared to govern themselves.

Bongggg! We gave the doctor about a year or two, which is about how long it takes for the machines to stop, after the brake is applied. Last summer a British journalist, Mr. Gerald McKnight, wrote his *Verdict on Schweitzer*, a venture in demolition, which left Dr. Schweitzer's reputation canted over at about the same angle as the Tower at Pisa. It was the breathless conclusion of Mr. McKnight that probably in his entire life Dr. Schweitzer had not conducted an adult conversation with a single African.

During all the years of adulation there was a small redoubt of people who held out against the transfiguration of Dr. Schweitzer, but their complaints against him were different from those that actually succeeded in felling the myth. They were trying to say that Dr. Schweitzer was no theologian, that his fabled formula for successful (if not happy) living lay in a "reverence for life" of which he considered himself perhaps the world's outstanding exemplar, greater than Jesus, Who was a good enough Jew, but Who made some dreadful mistakes, which Schweitzer would apparently not have made. As theologian, that sturdy little band maintained, Dr. Schweitzer was nothing at all, and certainly had scant claim to the title of "Christian." However as an individual practitioner of many of the preachments of Christianity, he was most certainly a saint, having given himself over so completely to the practical service of others.

A not uninteresting study could be made, contrasting the Liberal-conservative attitudes towards Dr. Schweitzer, and identifying the poor old gentleman's Achilles' heel: which turned out to be not his dangerous self-struck theology, but his irreverence towards the holy causes of anti-colonialism and permissive egalitarianism. (And yes, of course, those dirty bandages.) The obituaries, many of them, have not known quite what to say. Probably Schweitzer would not have cared. He will, by now, have heard the words he sought throughout his lifetime, as an aesthete, as a philosopher; and, finally, as a servant of the poor and oppressed.

Erratum: In Mr. James Buchanan's review of George Stigler's *Essays in the History of Economics* [Sept. 7, 1965] several words were dropped by the printer. The sentence should have read as follows (omitted words italicized): "No economist by any conceivable definition can support proposals to increase the national *minimum wage as a means of aiding the least productive* members of the labor force."

Notes and Asides

In Reply to Ours of Aug. 27 . . .

announcing the suspension of Mr. Svend Petersen's Trans-O-Gram (only 15 per cent of our readers having shown an interest in it in a recent poll) we received 301 pieces of mail. In favor of Trans-O-Gram, 296; against, 5. Angered to the point of cancelation, 0; angered to the point of not renewing, 1; angered to the point of possibly not renewing unless we restore it, 4. Many were saddened, but understanding (*If you are unable to continue to publish it, I shall miss it; but this will not change my subscription or my "cover to cover" reading habits. . . . I read* NATIONAL REVIEW *before the Trans-O-Gram and I shall continue to do so, but to me it was the frosting on the cake, the crowning touch . . .*), others were willing to compromise (*How about every other issue?*) and helpful (*Couldn't you just sell three more full pages of advertising?*). A large minority wanted to know what was so wrong with minorities. *Suppose you think of us as "a significant minority of 15 per cent" instead of "only 15 per cent,"* suggested one lady. *Would that help you change your mind? . . . We may be a minority, like the people who voted for Barry Goldwater, but we know what we like,* wrote

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one gentleman. And to give the ladies the last word, this from a hostess: *I had six guests for dinner the other night and only one used sugar in his coffee, but I still put it on the table.* There were the *cris de coeur* from addicts in the pangs of withdrawal (*First you hook us, then you drop us. . . . May I quote Charlie Brown in Peanuts: ARRRGGGHHH!. . . . Seven broken mirrors shall fall upon you seven upon seven times for seven years. . . . Come on youse guys—put dat ting back where it shoulda been left*). . . . strong language (from columnist, humorist, NR contributor Morrie Ryskind), *What, in heaven's name, has come over you illiterate Know-Nothings? Just because the new rules now allow you to vote if you can sign your name with an X on the register hardly entitles you to demolish our culture. You remain what you always were: dropouts: PUT BACK THAT TRANS-O-GRAM! . . .* and a dire threat: *We will organize a Committee of One Million for the Preservation of the Trans-O-Gram. We will conduct demonstrations and sit-ins at your offices. One or two of our members may lie down in traffic or pour gasoline over themselves.* NR was accused of driving its addicts into the hands of the Philistines, to the *Saturday Review* (Double-Crostic), the Sunday *New York Times* (Crossword and Diagramless), the *Reporter* (Acrostickler), even back to summertime TV reruns. (*Isn't it part of your mission to save souls from temptation? . . . To be forced to buy the* Saturday Review *would send me into guilt-ridden gloom.*) Finally, from the What-the-Trans-O-Gram-Means-to-Me-ers, a fifteen-year-old schoolboy: *It helps my brainwork.* A young mother: *I desperately need the emotional release provided by the Trans-O-Gram. Hurry! The children are closing in again.* An air traveler: *I save them up and do them while flying—they stand between me and a nervous breakdown.* A young wife: *When NR arrives I cut out the Trans-O-Gram and my husband takes the magazine. Two hours later it's my turn . . . ours is a happy one-NR family.* A young husband: *My mother-in-law likes it.* A pragmatist: *It's the only problem in your magazine that has an immediate solution.* And speaking of solutions,

dear sirs, *this is a warning!*

informing you that your tentative announcement to remove that epitome of intellectual ingenuity, that labyrinth of sweet torture, that addictive riddle from the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW has placed you in a perilously precarious position.

We, the undersigned, head, and are in fact, The Committee for the Prevention of Cruelty to Trans-O-gramers (CPOCTOG). The removal of the Trans-O-Gram will bring upon you a most dastardly fate, too heinous to expound in blunt prose. We have therefore devised a somewhat more hellish method of bringing the views of this Committee to your attention.

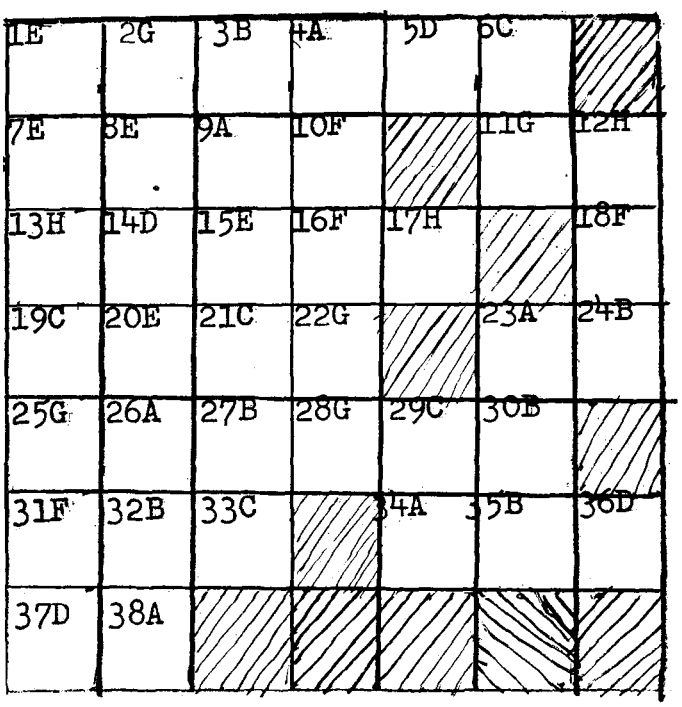
Pointedly yours,
C.P.O.C.T.O.G.

Helen A. Peets, Strategist
Catherine A. Peets, Archives
Doris E. Peets, Mascot

P.S. Dr. Gallup never asked us anything, and neither have you!

A. General Arnie	23 4 9 34 26 38
B. Loved by Disinherited Knight	27 32 3 24 30 35
C. Lindsay's forte	21 29 33 19 10
D. Leader of ten thousand	36 37 5 14
E. Split apart, and then again divided, forming one whole unit	7 8 1 15 20
F. Some think most about this	18 16 10 31
G. Lyndon's nightmare	22 2 11 25 28
H. How you understand (3 words)	12 13 17

Solution: P. 796



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ON THE RIGHT

Two Conventions

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The National Students Association has met again at Madison, Wisconsin in order to renew its habitual demands that the United States accelerate its march toward socialism at home, and neutralism abroad. Specifically, the Convention ruled that the United States owes a) a better living to every American student, b) more toleration to American (and for that matter, foreign) Communists, and c) an apology to the Dominican Republic—for saving their country from the Communists. The headline issue was the support the Convention gave to the Berkeley sit-ins of last December. These were officially classified as "legitimate and responsible" on the grounds that the normal channels of redress had been exhausted. As of this writing, the Convention has yet to propose the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but that is sure to come before the meeting disbands, the abolition of HUAC having become the Auld Lang Syne of any gathering of the free and the brave, of whatever age.

Buckley

There are two points worth noting about the NSA's meeting. One is that common sense was represented in Madison, and even made a little progress. Mr. Danny Boggs of Harvard, and Mr. Carl Weitman of CCNY, two very bright persuasive gentlemen, actually carried the day on one crucial issue by persuading the Convention to vote that no demonstration should "violate the rights of other people." It is not, to be sure exactly clear what rights other people have nowadays, but such as they are, they should be respected, according to the National Students Association. Thus the resolution endorsing the anarchic activities of the Berkeley sit-ins had a demurral, to wit the clause that "some students may have acted irresponsibly" in surrounding and imprisoning for 36 hours a police car that had come to the campus to take a demonstrator to jail. The conservatives tried to get it to read "some students acted irresponsibly," but that proved too much. Although it is known that a policeman *was* surrounded for 36 hours, it is *not* known—the high semanticists of the NSA inform us—that any student in *fact* acted irresponsibly. There is a very rigid hierarchy of disapproval in the glossary of the NSA. When the disapproval is really swinging, one "condemns"—as, for instance, one "condemns the House Committee on Un-American Activities." Next to that, one "deplores"—as, for instance, the landing of the Marines in the Dominican Republic. Still further down, one "regrets"—as, for example, one might "regret" the excesses of Fidel Castro. And, finally, one "does not condone" the students who "may have acted irresponsibly" in imprisoning a policeman sent out to imprison someone else. On these distinctions, worlds hang, at lively conventions.

Zeitgeist Is Liberal

The other point that brings relief is not very widely known, namely, that the National Students Association does not speak for the student body of the United States. Delegates are chosen, in most campuses, without any reference whatever to their political views. Why then are they as regularly left wing as the ladies of the Daughters of the American Revolution are right wing? Because those who are most active in campus life tend to be most easily seduced by the *Zeitgeist;* and the *Zeitgeist* is, of course, Liberal. The conclusion is not warranted, however, that the ladies and gentlemen who went to Madison did so to register the explicit political views of the majority of American students. The majority of students have no political views. They are content to let the minority fight the political wars. Every now and then there is a rumble of protest at the NSA's widespread acceptance as the Voice of the American campus. And sometimes, rising in wrath, a student body will kick the NSA out of the campus. But by and large, the students simply ignore the NSA, and rather wonder why the adult world doesn't also.

A week before the meeting of the NSA, the Young Americans for Freedom gathered in Washington, one thousand strong, for their fifth anniversary meeting. The YAFs also passed resolutions—calling for firmness in the struggle against the Communists, for concern at home with the encroachments of the state: for a rededication of law, and order as the foundation stones of freedom. The new president of YAF, Mr. Tom Huston (see "The Week"), took the occasion of his inaugural address to enveigh against those irresponsible members of the right wing who by their excesses and their refusal to think through to the consequence of their positions, do damage to the conservative movement. It was an extraordinary contrast: The National Students Association, so often regarded as the voice of American youth, condoning lawlessness and anarchy. And the Young Americans for Freedom, denounced as recently as a month ago by Senator William Fulbright as an extremist organization, calling for intelligence, rationality, and anti-kookery.

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Der Alte Returns

Shortly before his seventieth birthday Konrad Adenauer emerged from obscurity to lead his country into peace. At 89, his is the only voice to warn of dangers ahead

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

In a few months he will be ninety years old; and his vocabulary, as every overeducated ass in Germany will unfailingly point out, compromises, at most, a thousand words. Yet when Konrad Adenauer speaks, Germans hear the voice of history. And not only the Germans. I dare predict that Adenauer's speech of August 23, 1965 will soon be considered about as formative for our comprehension of the world as Churchill's Fulton speech (in which the British Adenauer issued his declaration of the Cold War).

Konrad Adenauer spoke about America's apparent readiness to renounce the nuclear posture of NATO in exchange for a Soviet signature on an "anti-proliferation" treaty. This development Adenauer called "the most frightening news since 1945"; and he hinted at a corollary German readiness to provide for Germany's own atomic protection. But the contents of Adenauer's proclamation are not really important. Few historic speeches contain memorable thoughts or cogent arguments; what makes them historic is merely the fact that they were spoken at a significant moment in history by a significant speaker. Churchill's Fulton speech (rhetorically remembered solely for the phrase "Iron Curtain"—which Churchill had borrowed from several dead authors) initiated a relatively sane decade during which the United States behaved more or less rationally. Adenauer's speech of August 1965 will initiate, I venture to say, a decade during which at least Germany, but perhaps even the United States, will behave more or less realistically.

At the moment Adenauer spoke, both nations were in dire need of being awakened to the elementary fact that twice two makes four; and that, therefore, not even the follies of the State Department could forever destroy the German wish to survive. By reminding the Germans, and perhaps the West, of this simple fact, Adenauer returned to prominence. On the eve of his 90th birthday, this most vigorous and alert of Western statesman realized that there was no one else to shock the brainwashed Germans into atomic realism; and so he did it himself.

Unscrupulous Attacks

Franz Josef Strauss, the only other conservative politician in Germany of stature and substance, is still much too much impressed by "public opinion"—probably because he has suffered from it more than any other politician alive. Not since McCarthy died has the press of a civilized nation embarked on a similarly ruthless and unscrupulous chase against a public figure as the German press has during the last three years against Strauss. That he survived physically

(he is only 50) is almost as remarkable as that the German courts have found the courage ultimately to refute every single detail of the protracted slander. For Strauss, himself, it will undoubtedly take some time before he fully recovers from his grisly experience. But Adenauer had been studying the reaction of the German public to Strauss' ordeal; and when, quite correctly, he ascertained that the synthetic bubble of German press influence was about to burst he acted in lieu of Strauss.

By age and reason, it was clearly Strauss who was meant to rescue Germany from the catastrophic consequences of American appeasement. For it was Strauss who created the German *Bundeswehr* (now the backbone of NATO's military force); Strauss who, more than twelve years ago, not only laid the foundation for nuclear research in Germany but also took out an option on a future German nuclear strategy; and Strauss who, in the eyes of every cool observer, was accumulating the charismatic claim to Adenauer's successorship. Precisely for these reasons, the German press (than which not even the *New York Times* is more unscrupulously Liberal) singled him out for a veritable ritual murder. When the moment came for Germany openly to reconsider its nuclear policy (the moment of nuclear truth), he was still punch-drunk—but, happily, Adenauer was still alive.

Ground Rules

Any sane and responsible leader of Germany must base his policies on these primary tenets:

1) A military conflict in this age can be prevented only if its "atomic escalation" is believably probable.

2) The sovereignty of a great nation is protected only if its violation induces nuclear retaliation.

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3) No matter what sundry "treaties" may stipulate, in another few years about twenty nations will possess nuclear weapons;

4) No nation can any longer assume that another nation will give it atomic support with the indispensable speed necessary to pre-empt attack on it.

In the face of these indisputable ground rules of modern national strategy, the governments of Europe are expected to applaud the Geneva Disarmament conference. It is like expecting pigs to anticipate the slaughterhouse with outcries of joy. And yet the State Department (which, otherwise, remains so attentive to "world opinion") proceeds on the fallacious assumption that it can attain both an agreement on "nuclear proliferation" *and* American influence in Europe. The two objectives are of course mutually exclusive. The most probable outcome of the State Department's two-timing policies will be that the United States will not get the "agreement" and lose its last positions in Europe.

Most certainly in Germany. A veritable teacher's pet, Germany has complied for fifteen years with every whim and fancy of Washington; and the State Department has mistaken that docile attitude for congenital German servility. Yet it was nothing but a satisfied cat's purring: since 1950, Germany has felt adequately protected by the American atomic bomb. Nothing but the USSR's informed guess that an attack on West Berlin would result in an immediate atomic retaliation saved Germany between 1950 and 1965. But the moment both Germany and the Soviet Union come to doubt the atomic determination of the United States, the Russians as well as the Germans will have to change their attitude: the Soviets are overcoming their prudence, the Germans their docility.

The State Department's critical error was to appoint William C. Foster as America's chief delegate to the Geneva conference. Bonn, quite correctly, suspects this gentleman to be America's leading opponent of NATO's "nuclearization"; and so to dispatch him to Geneva was tantamount to depriving Germany of her hope for American nuclear protection. And, indeed, only a few days after the Geneva kindergarten opened to triumphant noises of a reassured Soviet delegation, Mr. Foster (ably seconded by Labor Britain and Liberal Canada) submitted an atrocious plan for the atomic disarmament of western Europe. On that day Germany's reliance on America ended.

Germany Grows Up

From now on, a new style of German relations with the United States is bound to develop. After all, Germany has become the second strongest power of the Atlantic Alliance, and the third strongest power in the entire world. Washington can no longer ignore Germany's plans for her own security—for the simple reason that they no longer coincide with Washington's. And on the other hand, Washington at last will have to realize that, in Europe, the United States is as much in need of Germany as Germany is of America. In other words, the teacher's pet has grown up.

From now on, Germany will confront the United States with an inescapable alternative: either America's nuclear strength is committed to the immediate defense of a challenged German sovereignty, or Germany builds her own nuclear establishment. That she can do it somewhat faster than China or Indonesia, no one will venture to doubt. Nor will any one, from now on, dare bet on Germany's protracted patience: Washington has merely a few months to determine what it shall be—unqualified American nuclear commitment in Europe, or Germany's unmitigated nuclear potency.

This is the new policy Adenauer has suggested to his country, and Germany will indubitably respond to Adenauer. There may be a few weeks or even months of hesitancy; but once the German elections are over and forgotten, Adenauer's Germany will rally behind a new leadership that accepts the country's vital needs as the irreducible program of a new government. *Der Alte,* having commenced to save Germany and the West fifteen years ago, has kept young enough to finish the job.

Potatoes with a Side Order of Steer

Once upon a time a very distinguished professor of home economics,
Composed an open letter to the President which said that the nation's atomic's
All upset by the mess of porridge cooked up of late
By State,
And certain other departments of government including the CIA,
And had it signed by 4,296 chefs, some of whom had studied under the immortal Escoffier.
The roast in Vietnam, the letter said, was overdone and the moral shrimps at the Department of Force,
Could only become palatable by a new sauce
Made by mixing together eviscerated radishes, the yellow of lemons, sluffed chestnuts and polyunsaturated gnats,
Hares' brains, crocodile salt, shirred ostrich heads and pussywillow scats.
And it appeared Thursday, September 9, 1965 in the *New York Times* food page,
Which is one place a thing has to be if it has any chance in the world of becoming a *gourmet rage;*
And, sure enough, that is exactly what the sauce has suddenly become;
And everything in certain places that is fit for tooth and gome,
Gets dipped in it or wiped with it:
(If lately you have had a sauceless meal . . . don't admit it):
At restaurants so "in" that the clean-up boys are camp,
At poolsides and at skin dives where the radishes are damp,
At places on the campus where professors go to eat,
At little Russian tea rooms where some artists go to bleat.
Oh, the places where the sauce goes on are very, very stylish;
Still, eating sauce and *nothing else,* to me seems very chylish.

JOHANNES EFF

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Letter from the Continent

At Stake in the German Elections

ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

It is futile to argue that the German Social Democrats (SPD) have poured so much water into their Marxist wine that only a skilled gourmet could discover the traces of the basic brew; a Socialist government, if elected to office in the September 19 West German elections, would mean quite a break with the past and so would a coalition between the Social Democrats and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). This party is the real heir of the nineteenth-century national liberals and of the Weimar Republic's *Deutsch-Volkische Partei* (Stresemann's party). There are actually five theoretical possibilities for a new government after September 19: a Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union (CDU-CSU) absolute majority; a Socialist absolute majority; a coalition government of the CDU-CSU and the FDP (the ruling alliance today); a coalition government made up of the SPD and the FDP (which the latter party has rejected in advance), and, finally, a coalition between the Bigs—the CDU and the SPD.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Eastward View

One outcome is impossible: an absolute majority for Herr Erich Mende's FDP. An unlikely solution would be the "Big Coalition" with the CDU-CSU retaining its present strength. Interestingly enough, certain conservative forces in the Christian Democratic Union really favor an alliance with the Socialists, on the grounds that they will make better partners, more modest in their demands and more docile, than the small FPD which has proven a great deal more naive about Communism than the SPD. This is not surprising when we remember that there has existed in Germany for the past 150 years a nationalist tradition of looking toward the East. The Rapallo Pact and the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement of 1939 are milestones on this Eastern-oriented road. The West German Socialists have few illusions about Moscow and Pankow. The Socialists, by and large, are apt to be more suspicious of Communism than the overly eager nationalists who are becoming rapidly disillusioned with the Western alliance.

Two months ago a poll patterned after the Gallup Poll predicted not exactly a Socialist victory, but "greater popularity" for the Socialists. Recent elections in the Saar, a federal state, have not really confirmed these findings, and the nearer we get to election day, the more questionable a Socialist victory becomes. True, the Christian Democratic Union and its more conservative permanent Bavarian ally, the Christian Social Union, have committed a variety of blunders in the recent past.

How Does Strauss Stand?

Chancellor Erhard suffered a diplomatic defeat in the Near East by getting embroiled in the Israel-Egypt fracas last spring and Franz Joseph Strauss, former Foreign Minister and leader of the CSU, is generally conceded to have acted very unwisely in the *Spiegel* case. Also, there is always a restiveness against a regime that has been in power for some time. The Christian Democratic coalition has ruled West Germany since it became a Republic.

But how strong is this desire for change? Economically the Germans never had it so good and many a declared SPD supporter now shudders to take the plunge. CDU-SCU speakers have done a much better job during the campaign than their opponents. In Bavaria an especially large vote is expected for Franz Strauss' CSU. Strauss is the *bête noire* of North German progressives who see in him the clerical, boorish Bavarian reactionary. But the more abuse Strauss gets, the more determined are the Bavarians to teach the benighted Northerners a lesson. (Strauss is not easily pigeonholed; physically he looks like the beer-drinking Bavarian peasant who gets into fights at county fairs, but he is able to deliver speeches in Latin!) The North too has a skilled speaker who knows how to make an audience laugh because his humor is unexcelled: Dr. Konrad Adenauer, chairman of the CDU, who will be ninety next January. On his triumphal trips he stands in an open car, waving to the multitudes. He uses spectacles only sparingly—a true biological miracle. Rumor has it that he will retire next year to devote himself entirely to Volume II of his memoirs.

Fear of U.S.-Soviet Deal

Dr. Adenauer attracted new attention recently by acting as the spokesman for German unrest at the disarmament negotiations in Geneva. The fear of a deal between the United States and the Soviet Union should not be underestimated; it haunts all parties. And it is often kindled by Paris. In his last interview Adenauer not only voiced his apprehension about a possible compromise between Washington and Moscow at the expense of Germany, he also exhorted his old friend in the Elysée Palace not to wreck NATO. There is considerable speculation about the possible consequences not so much of a thundering defeat of the SPD (which nobody expects), but of a significant setback for the party which has been waiting half a generation to get into power. Would another failure lead to a split, a radicalization? This is quite possible and it is the reason why farsighted Christian Democrats are wary of a defeat for the SPD. In such an event the radicals among these—second-rate *literati* like Herr Grass (*The Dog Years*) or Herr Hochhuth (*The Deputy*)—now engaged in flowery campaign oratory for the SPD might break away and form a new party which would be Marxian and subversive. Old-line Socialists are probably more leery of these rash, bright young men than of their CDU opponents.

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The Structure of Hate

Control of race prejudice demands an act of understanding, a comparison of this prejudice with others — like the prejudice behind capital punishment

GARRY WILLS

What can possibly make men bomb Negro children in their churches? A policy designed to maintain social privilege?—But the bombers and blind racists have done more than anyone to break down segregation laws. If they were acting out of the calculus of policy, they could not be so infallibly impolitic.

Is it, then, a matter of intellectual error? Are the racists misled—by arguments from Scripture, history, climate, IQ tests, etc.—into the idea that Negroes are subhuman? If that were true, then better exegesis, better history and statistics, might dispel their error. But biological and theological arguments did not give birth to prejudice, however much they are used to bastion it; and scientific data will not extirpate men's bias.

Is it sheer hatred—a sadistic urge to destroy, even if one destroys himself in the process? Some of the actual bombers may be psychotics of this sort; but most of their neighbors are not in the grip of a mass paroxysm; and the important thing is that these neighbors have a half-suppressed, half-confessed willingness to accept violences against the Negro that they would not put up with in any other area of their lives. They are not all fanatics; but they will tolerate fanaticism on this point. Why is this?

It takes no courage to attack the cruelties inflicted on the Negro. That is easy. But it is difficult to *understand* the source of this cruelty—not "understand" in the sense "condone," but understand as a discipline of diagnostic service. If we do not make an effort at this kind of understanding, we shall forever be using inadequate weapons against prejudice. If we think it is merely a policy of self-interest, we shall try to bargain it away. Economic pressure is effective —perhaps the most effective policy on the level of policy; but there are strata of prejudice it does not touch. If, on the other hand, we consider prejudice primarily as a fallacy, we shall fruitlessly try to blunt it with dialectics. Despair may tempt us into the view that prejudice is simple, irredeemable diabolism, without any rational structure. If that were the case, we could not cope with it; the only solution to the problem would be the destruction of the South, not its rescue. (Perhaps more people have accepted this as their goal than we are prepared to admit.)

A friend of mine, an ex-Southerner now living in the North, is sincerely bewildered by his inability to meet Negroes as his equals. He no longer has any immediate economic disadvantage to fear from them; he has never fallen for the cooked arguments about their human inferiority; he cannot honestly believe that he is the devil's plaything, racked with random storms of hatred—nor can I, or others who know him. Yet his guard is permanently up against the Negro—even when he no longer wants it to be—he cannot find a way of lowering it. Denouncing prejudice will not help him discover the source of his involuntary revulsion. The only way to help him is to understand him. It might perhaps enlighten him (and us) if we consider the possibility that the forces acting on him register the dying tremors of a social convulsion, and are not private spasms of an unchartable madness; that his moral effort must be one of readjustment to history, not endless ineffectual self-torture as a fantasy-murderer, not (worst of all) a weary surrender to his own self-indictment.

Capital Punishment

"Prejudice" often means, in our immediate crisis, race prejudice. But prejudice is a larger thing, a structural or a solvent factor in all social life. It might help to make some non-racial prejudice serve as a paradigm of what happens to obsolescent forms of bias. Take, for instance, the motive force behind capital punishment. I do not mean the *arguments* for capital punishment (things like the deterrence of potential killers), but the *motive,* which obviously runs much deeper than statistics about the murder rate in countries with or without capital punishment. The willingness (or eagerness) to inflict death is not correlated with the effectiveness of execution as a deterrent, but with one's horror at the crime. That is why people are much readier to execute a child-violator than a paid gangland killer—which, in terms of deterrence, is silly. Some of those who oppose capital punishment were anxious to have Eichmann hanged. Israel had to revoke a law expressing its opposition to execution in order to accommodate its horror at Eichmann's crime. (No one can take very seriously the view that Eichmann was killed to deter potential genocides in Israel or the world.)

Many realize that the desire to punish with death runs deeper than practical arguments normally plumb, but they treat this deeper motive as simplistically as they treat the roots of racial prejudice. They ascribe it to sheer vindictiveness; for them, capital punishment is merely vengeance dignified. The vengeance-theory strikes near the real motive, but states it too clumsily.

Capital punishment is, in its psychic roots, excommunication. We feel contaminated by the very presence of the criminal. He tramples holy things, transgresses tabus that are the center of a society's regard for existence itself as worthwhile. No wonder there is a terror of all men before this one man. Furthermore, he often *does* what we are not allowed even to imagine. By doing it, he forces us to think about it, and that alone is a kind of

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contamination. If we are to let him succeed in his action, then further social life becomes unthinkable. He has put himself outside the limits of humanity; we must treat him as less than human, as anti-human, the enemy of mankind. We retain our humanity only by denying him his. This alone explains society's urgency to punish things that are least deterrable—unplanned, uncalculating horrors like incest.

The mechanics of this punishment are seen at their most rudimentary, and so most clearly, in primitive societies—or in a society like ancient Greece, no longer primitive but with a genius for communicating with its origins. Punishment was always, for the Greeks, a form of excommunication—partial or temporary banishment from hearths or altars (*e.g.*, ostracism), or the total banishment of exile and execution (punishments almost equally severe). This banishment from humanity at first entailed a loss of humanity. The exile became something less than a man. As late as the fourth century, B.C., Aristotle could say that man outside society is a beast. Much of the audacity of Greek drama lies in its willingness to entertain the possibility that the contaminated man, the transgressor of tabus—an Orestes, an Oedipus—remains human even after pollution.

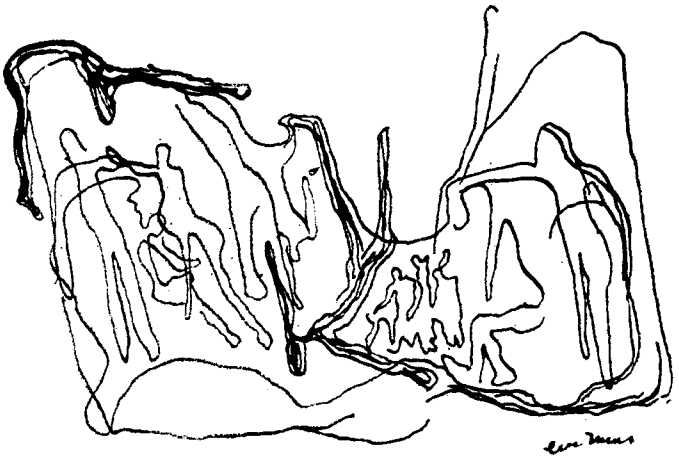
The fact that punishment's origins in excommunication are best traced in primitive law does not mean that we have transcended such motives, or that we should. There is a place for these instincts of mental self-preservation, as for the drive to protect physical life. Man does to some extent maintain his humanity by setting limits of the tolerably human, by establishing a threshold of minimal morality and demanding that everyone rise above that threshold. Society is held together by a common reverence for certain sacred things. We do not form a real community by subscribing to a set of theses or enforcing an ideological uniformity. We are united, as Augustine and Newman realized, by our shared regard for something outside us, something to that extent above any single individual. If a man entirely refuses to reverence the sacred things of a society, then he severs communication at its source, places himself outside the community. He has already excommunicated himself.

The problem, of course, is to decide, from moment to moment, what is the minimal reverence we can demand from a man in order to exact a recognizably human responsibility from him. In primitive societies that barely wrest a communal subsistence from a hostile universe, it is comparatively easy to identify the deserter from the cause of humanity. He is the man who refuses to use the sacred weapons against an alien cosmos, the man who will not join the totem group's holy hunt. But as life becomes more articulated, individuated, and free of external and internal pressures from the unknown, the demands that the community can make upon a man are drastically reduced. They cannot entirely disappear, or the community itself would dissolve; but neither can we keep executing the man who will not take up his bow and hunt.

The problem is further tangled when we weigh the question of a society's sincerity in the worship of basic sacrednesses. There is in all human life a natural inanition of symbols, a decrease in superstition, a watering down of fervor. We tend to maintain old symbols, for their social usefulness, long after we have lost belief in their literal content—symbols like the Bible on which public men take their oath of office. When deference of this ritualistic sort is maintained too long beyond its time, a clash with real belief may dissolve all social adhesion. Christians would not go through the forms of Roman state worship, even though these forms had little or no meaning for the Romans who complied. A society in Rome's position is losing touch with the sacrednesses that actually bind men; it sacrifices the individual with real faith to an obsolete pretense at believing. This may be what is happening to capital punishment in the modern state.

We have stretched our tolerance of individual aberration to a point, today, where it is perhaps no longer possible to sacrifice a human life to the fiction that we cannot survive the mental encounter with murder, incest, infanticide, perversion. Many of those agitating for repeal of capital punishment are undoubtedly doing it because they hold that nothing is sacred enough to die for, or be killed for, or kill for; and this may be a herald of the end. Still, one cannot sacrifice human life to a sacredness not actually felt as vital to the community's very humanity; and I venture to say that most of our society would not feel threatened at their moral center by the polluting presence of criminals in our jails instead of in graves; and unless that basic a threat is made to man's instinct of mental self-preservation, then it is immoral to take a human life—just as it is wrong to kill a man who attacks you unless the attack jeopardizes life. In the same way, we cannot make an individual murderer the scapegoat for a whole era's false concept of tolerance.

The instinct at work in society's demand for capital punishment can be traced in many forms of prejudice, good and bad. The deepest opposition to Communism comes, as everyone admits, from religious groups—the Catholic Church, American evangelicals, and others—because Communism's militant atheism strikes at the most sacred thing in the life of sincerely religious people, at God himself. On the other hand, those who pooh-pooh anti-Communist "zealotry" can froth at the mouth when South



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Africa is mentioned—or when Alabama is. Liberalism, too, is a religion, with its sacred things. It is a religion of man, and anything that challenges the equality of man calls up a willingness to punish that runs counter to the pragmatic rationalism that most Liberals profess. That is why cool critics of capital punishment wanted Eichmann hanged. That is why the proponents of cultural exchange with one's enemies want to enforce a cultural embargo against South Africa, a boycott of Mississippi. That is why some opponents of congressional investigations, the FBI, and severe law enforcement were anxious to use all these things against right-wing "extremists." The religious Liberal feels that an Eichmann, a Verwoerd, a Wallace, have defiled the central, minimal tenet of all human morality, have passed the bounds of tolerable human error. (Perhaps we all need some of the self-analysis Greek drama brought to bear on Greek law. As the Greeks learned that an Orestes can remain human after transgressing the tabu against matricide, so the blindly fundamentalist right-winger needs to recognize that Communists are human beings, and the fundamentalist Liberal needs to recognize that the white Alabaman is a man.)

The prejudice of my Southern friend is related to the prejudices we have looked at. It reflects a tabu based on a desperate need to keep certain things sacred if man was to live with one terrifying evil—slavery—and not let his life be swallowed up by it. The Southerner, with the compliance of most of the civilized world, had acquired a store of human life to use as an economic resource. Ironically, it was not even economical for very long. Slavery, the devil's joke on America, was an obsolete system even before the Civil War. But the spiritual price the Southerner had to pay was even greater than the material one. He had acquired a large force of people from a totally foreign, comparatively primitive culture; he had further brutalized this population under the degrading conditions of slavery; he had destroyed the social fabric at its source (the family), and taken away the primary practical safeguard of man's dignity (property).

It is much easier to destroy than to build. Having so successfully brutalized the Negro, the Southerner did not feel he could civilize him. The danger was that he would himself be totally brutalized by what he had done to his human "property," that the civilization that lived by creating savagery would inevitably slide into and under that savagery. Just how conscious this fear was can be discerned in the diaries of antebellum Southerners. Edmund Wilson, in *Patriotic Gore,* quotes from these diaries to show that the consciousness of civilization, the elegance of Southern ladies, the chivalry of their men, the elaborate insistence on code and a "way of life" were the sacred things reflecting an apprehension that this flawed civilization would crumble unless its standards were upheld with total rigor. And this iron reverence for the white "way of life" was paired with its appropriate tabu, an aloofness from the Negro's life. Selected "house Negroes" were the object of amenities that manifested the aristocracy's civilized ways. But the life of the numbed majority darkly moving through the cotton was screened from the delicate minds of those inside the manor.

The Way Out

It is easy to see what is wrong with this situation. It is not so easy, for anyone with a scrap of self-knowledge, to preen himself with certitude that he could have transcended the last-ditch attitude of the trapped Southern slaveholder. The white man was as spiritually fettered by the situation as the Negro was—though he inhabited a far more comfortable cell. If he could have undone the train of historical tragedies that pinned him in this position, the Southerner undoubtedly would have. But history cannot be reversed; at certain moments, the best one can do is fight a holding battle and hope for some way out.

The way out was a paradoxical defeat that may yet prove a victory. The stalemate was broken. The machine age was forced on the South, which became thenceforth an underprivileged part of the rapidly expanding Union, but still part of it, with some hope. The price of holding an esteemed, effective place in that Union has been, and still is (now more than ever), a determination to admit the Negro inside the fragile civilization he once threatened. In fact, the earlier situation has been reversed. Self-preservation in a desperate situation once convinced the Southerner that the Negro must be excluded, that there must be a tabu against dealing intimately with him as a man, that an invisible wall must forever shield the Southern lady from contamination, that the Negro was excommunicated. But new social pressures, and the sacrednesses of our time, *make it a matter of spiritual self-preservation that the Negro be included.* It is a desperate need, just as the earlier one was; and it must be done against a timetable of disaster.

The prejudiced Southerner lives with a particularly stiff set of historically conditioned attitudes; but we know that such attitudes can be changed—if they are understood, and their obsolescence is granted. Admittedly, fear overreaches its rational object—as when the drowning man flails at his rescuer. But new, rational fears can drive out the old, irrational ones. If a Draco can exile Orestes, an Aeschylus can bring him back into the circle of humanity. The Southerner can do the same thing for the Negro, with our help and understanding. If we can find the meaning behind apparently meaningless acts of hate, we can adjust prejudices to fit realities; and that, after all, is the first task of civilization.

The strange thing is that the white Southerner may learn the lesson of his emotionally crippled life just when other groups stand in even greater need of that lesson. The white Northerner, the pent-up Negro, are acquiring the old patterns of Southern fear. The Negro forever returning, in masochistic public fantasy, to old fears (*e.g.,* lynching) and not recognizing new perils (*e.g.,* from the nihilism of Watts) is just like the Southerner who cannot see contemporary danger because ancient menace hypnotizes him. The Northern Liberal's very contempt for the Southerner may betray him into a fear that the migrating Negro will bring the North down to the South's level. Fear is disconcertingly democratic; it infects us all. It is everyone's enemy. The beginning of peace may be a recognition that, up against it, we are all allies.

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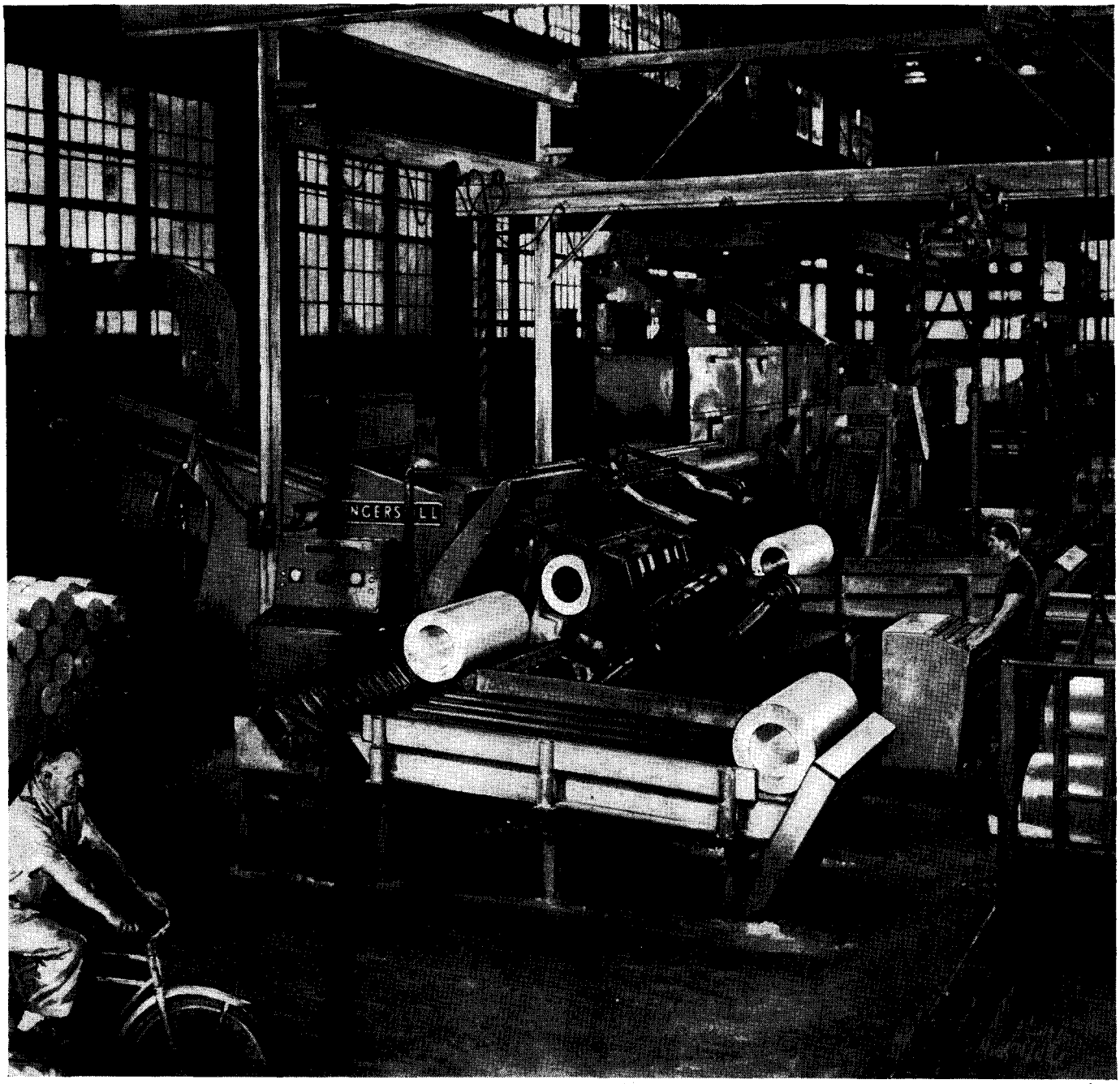

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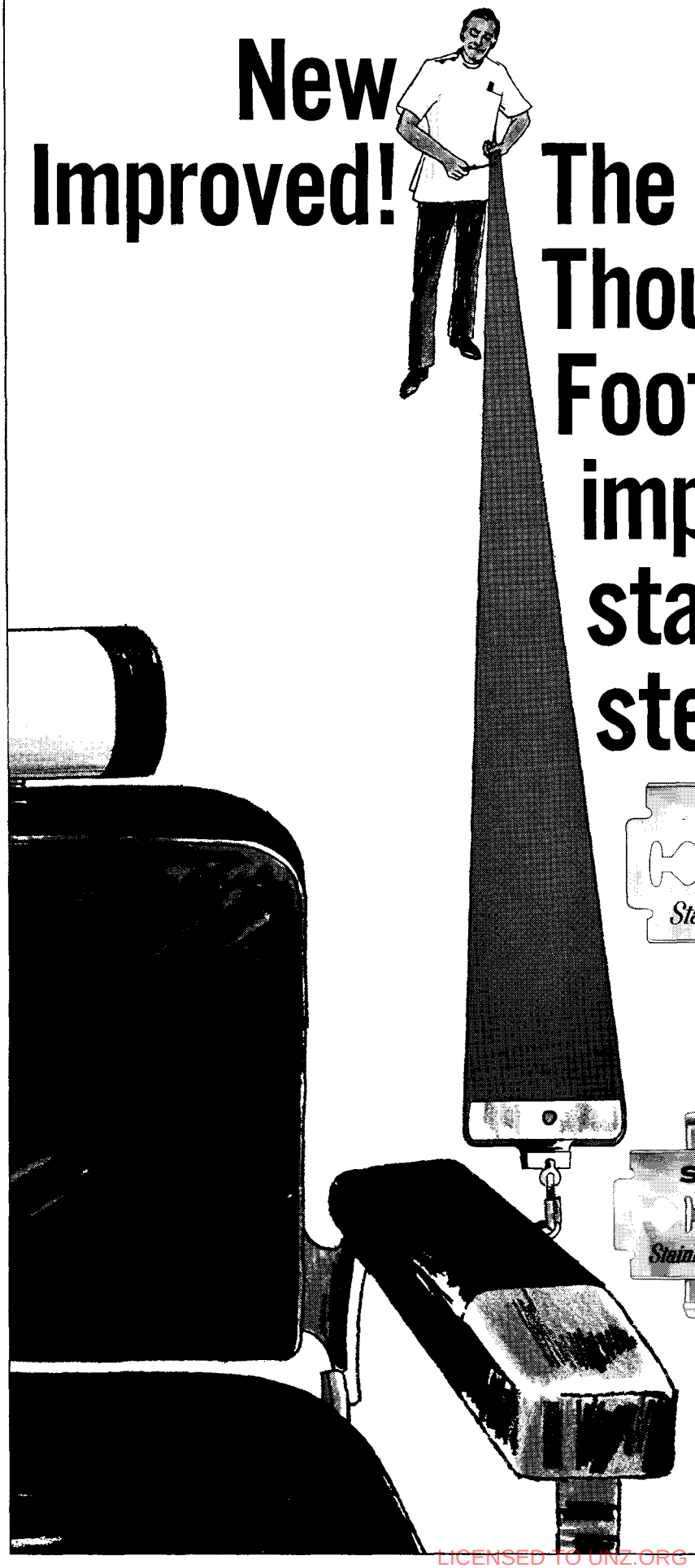

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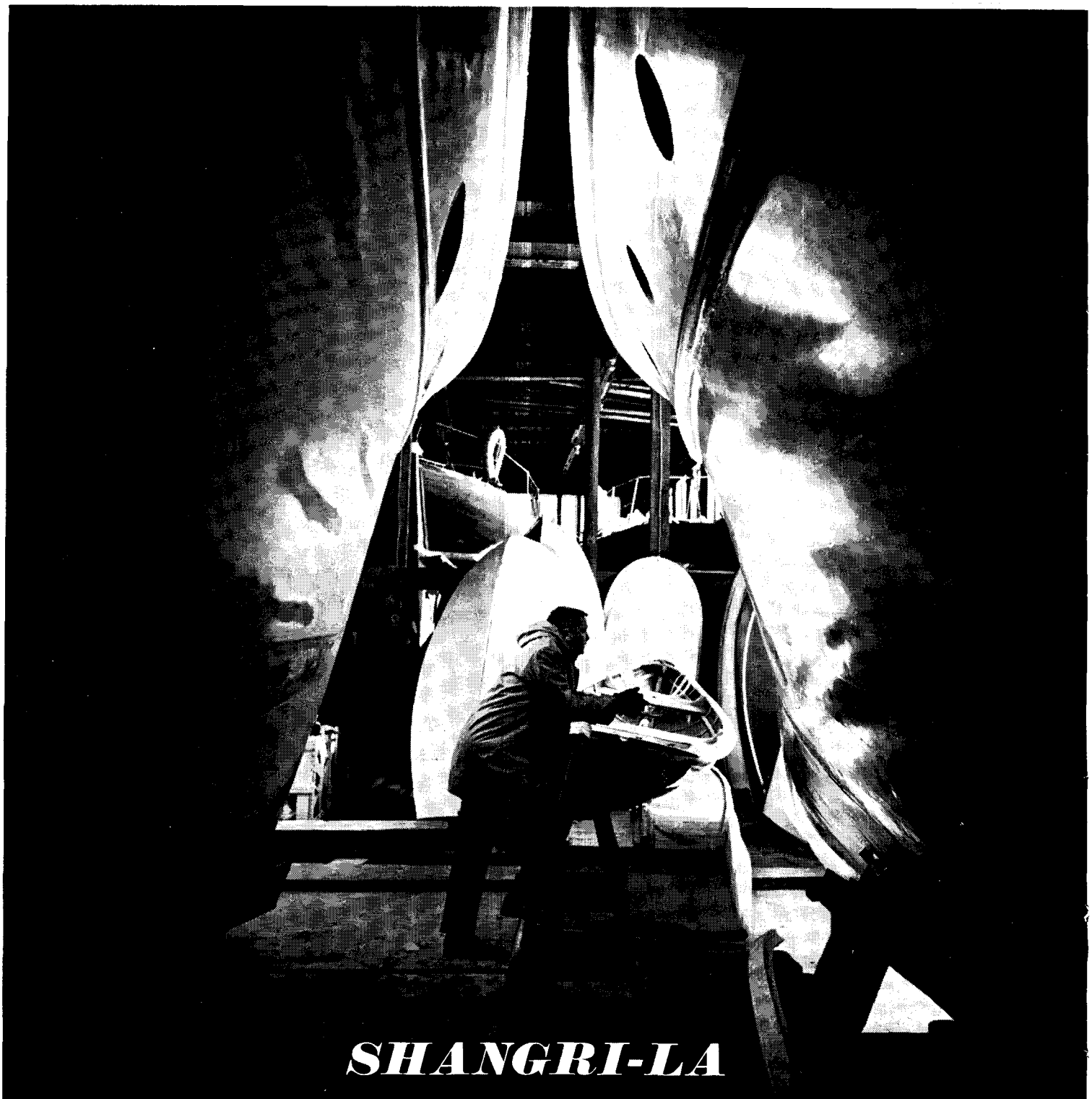

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More Immigration?

Our immigration laws should indeed be changed, says the author, but not as now proposed by the Congress. Mr. van den Haag favors tighter controls

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

Passage by the lower house of Congress of a comprehensive new immigration bill was hailed as "a triumph of justice" by the President and, with his enthusiastic backing, it seems the bill has an excellent chance of enactment. The present law can certainly stand improvement. But the bill supported by the President is clearly a move in the wrong direction, sure to make matters worse.

The Quota System

The present immigration statute—the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952—synthesized the numerous regulations that had been passed piecemeal since 1789. A few of the most glaring inequities and inconsistencies were removed: some Asian immigrants previously ineligible became eligible for citizenship; quotas were given to some nations that previously had none. And discretion (vested largely in the State Department) with regard to non-quota immigrants was increased. But the basic policy of the permanent Immigration Act of 1924 was retained. Each nation was granted a quota of immigrants equal to 2 per cent of its former nationals and their descendants in the American population. The 1924 law was based on the census of 1890. Modifications were enacted in 1929: the 1890 census figures were replaced with data derived from the 1920 census; "national origins" (birthplace) rather than "nationality" (citizenship) became the basis for the classification of immigrants; minimum quotas of 100 immigrants were established and a few changes were made. The McCarran-Walter Act did not substantially change the system as streamlined in 1929. It retained quota-free immigration from the Western Hemisphere and systematized quota-exempt immigration of special categories of people, such as political refugees and persons with needed skills. Although the ceiling for quota immigration is 158,000 persons per year, non-quota immigration has nearly doubled that figure in every one of the years since the law was enacted.

The objections to the 1952 statute are largely based on the allegation that the quota system originally enacted in the twenties is "racist" and therefore wrong and shameful. The quotas favor the English (65,361 immigrants permitted per year), the German (25,814) and the Irish (17,756). They restrict immigration from other nations rather severely: thus only 5,666 persons of Italian origin are allowed per year.

Yet, the "racist" label, though given credence by many fanciful scholars, does not fit. The quotas were never intended to be proportionate to the size of the nationalities of origin; nor to reflect the inclination of the various nationalities to come to the United States. The quotas are based on the ethnic proportions of the American population in 1920 and this basis is hardly "racist".

From a strictly "racist" viewpoint, an English quota twice as large as the German quota would not make sense; nor does it make sense that quotas for the Netherlands (3,136), Sweden (3,295), Denmark (1,175) should be so much smaller than the quota for Poland (6,488), and disproportionate to that of Czechoslovakia (3,859). The system is obviously not "racist" in the Nazi sense; or in any intelligible sense. Many of the arguments advanced for the quota system may have been vaguely "racial" in a pre-Nazi sense; and so, undoubtedly, were some of the underlying motives. But the system itself is not; one need not believe in racial inferiority or superiority to justify it. If one does, one *cannot* justify it.

The 1952 act codified and ratified a view shared quite generally in the past: not to allow immigration to change the national or ethnic composition of the American population. To achieve this, the quota of immigrants from each nation had to be made proportional to the number of nationals in the American population. I cannot see anything unfair or unreasonable in such a decision. It may or may not be based on a feeling or belief that some ethnic groups within the population are more valuable than others. Practically all ethnic groups think that much of themselves—although for obvious reasons, minority groups express such feelings less openly than majority groups. But one need not believe that one's own ethnic group, or any ethnic group, is superior to others (or more likely to make good citizens) in order to wish one's country to continue to be made up of the same ethnic strains in the same proportions as before. And, conversely, the wish not to see one's country overrun by groups one regards as alien need not be based on feelings of superiority or "racism."

Patriotism Is Not Racism

The wish to preserve one's identity and the identity of one's nation requires no justification—and no belief in superiority—any more than the wish to have one's own children, and to continue one's family through them need be justified or rationalized by a belief that they are superior to the children of others, or more fit, or better in business. One identifies with one's family, because it is one's family—not because they are better people than others. For no other reason one identifies with one's national group more than with others. Else there would be no nations.

The feeling needs no justification anymore than one's love and preference for oneself and one's own does. That the feeling has often been

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rationalized in rather foolish terms is as true as it is irrelevant. Even if I think silly your *belief* that your mother, or girlfriend, is the greatest thing God ever made, I do not condemn your *feeling* about them. It needs no justification. Now, does a nation have the moral right to select new members—other than those born into it—according to its feelings? I see no reason not to grant this right; indeed, every nation has always exercised it. What then could be more natural for the American people than to use the method of selection embodied in the quota system?

It may be argued that ethnic origin 1) has little to do with ability, behavior, or achievement and 2) that these, and only these, are what matter. Perhaps the first part of the proposition is true. But the second part is as arbitrary a value judgment as the opposite contention would be. One does not love one's children or parents because of their behavior, ability or achievement—but often despite them. One loves them because one feels them to be part of oneself —more than people to whom one is not related, however much greater their achievement, however much better their behavior.

There is no merit then in the contention that the quota system is "racist," or somehow morally wrong. Individuals, and groups no less, are entitled to have preferences for other individuals or groups; these need not be based on more than the feeling of preference itself. To be sure, once people are admitted and become residents of their new country, they should be treated without irrelevant discrimination, in matters other than personal or social relationships (when, by definition, nothing is relevant but preference). But I can discover no moral reason for preventing a nation from selecting new residents according to preference.

But let that go. There are more important things in practical terms. Compare the number of quota immigrants the present law actually admits with the number the proposed bill would admit. The McCarran-Walter Act had the effect of reducing quota immigration below the ceiling allowable of 158,000. The English, for instance, did not utilize their large quota. Inasmuch as the quota is not transferable to other nations, the result was fewer immigrants. Indeed, despite all the hue and cry about ethnic selection, the main effect of the present quota system is to reduce total quota immigration below its formal ceiling. The ethnic selection did not work, because as a matter of fact no more Englishmen actually immigrated than, say, Italians.

The bill backed by LBJ would open our doors to 20,000 immigrants from each nation. The effect would be to increase total immigration greatly—

its proponents say to 350,000 per year. (Total immigration in the last few years has averaged less than 300,000 per year.) This estimate is probably low because relatives of citizens would not be counted in the 20,000 limit per nation; political refugees are likely to be admitted—and for good reason—apart from the 20,000 limit; and the bill proposes in the next three years to allow the large backlog of approved but not yet admitted quota immigrants to enter the United States in addition to the 20,000 to be admitted yearly from each nation. In short, the bill will greatly increase immigration—far beyond what its proponents tell us. But let that go too. Assume that immigration increases only to 350,000 per annum as the proponents of the bill say it will. Is that good? I don't think so. On the contrary, the time has come for the United States to consider itself settled territory—just like Germany, or Italy, or Ireland—and to stop encouraging immigration altogether. I should still favor allowing relatives of citizens to enter; or political refugees, and people with needed skills, or, indeed, occasionally people who for any reasonable reason want to become Americans—just as some Americans become naturalized French citizens. But I see no more reason for us to encourage immigration or invite it than there is for the Italians, the Irish or the Germans to do so. I would like to see the McCarran-Walter Act changed so as to reduce all existing quotas by 75 per cent.

This would be the simplest way of reducing immigration. Now, as mentioned before, I do not regard our present immigration policy as "racist" nor can I see any acceptable moral argument against our right to be selective, ethnically or otherwise. However, I also see no reason to exercise this right as we have. I like Italians no less than Englishmen. And most people today no longer have the preferences that led to the establishment of the original quotas. Further, if we reduce total immigration as I propose to do, quota equalization is not likely to affect the ethnic composition of our population in any but the most negligible way. Thus I would not oppose a change in the law so as to grant the same number of immigrants to each nation—provided that the total of immigrants not exceed 40,000 per year, in addition to the special categories mentioned before; future immigration should be limited almost exclusively to these special categories.

Legislation Obsolescent

Let me explain why I think such a policy correct. In all its many aspects, our traditional immigration policy was based on the simple fact that this continent was underpopulated and would use more people to advantage. This is no longer the case. Not only has our population increased rapidly

(Continued on p. 842)

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Phoney Baloney in Welfare Spending

With sharp eye and hard head, a noted analyst looks at federal accounts, concluding that there's a great deal more there than meets the eye

ROGER A. FREEMAN

Those of us who have been troubled by the explosive growth of governmental activities in recent years and by the threat they pose to the freedom and responsibility of the individual can relax. We have all been mistaken and government isn't really growing when we view it in meaningful terms. I have that on the highest authority in the land. The President himself said so in a speech to the CED (Committee for Economic Development): "Total federal spending in 1965 will be the lowest in fourteen years in terms of our gross national product. Non-defense spending will be lower than it was thirty years ago in terms of our gross national product (GNP). There are fewer federal employees now than there were a year ago when I took office." Mr. Johnson also offered a cheerful outlook in his January 1965 Budget Message: ". . . we have good reason to expect that government expenditures in the years ahead will grow more slowly than the gross national product, so that the ratio of federal spending to our total output will continue to decline."

We probably ought to feel as comforted by LBJ's assurances as the six-foot tall traveler who was told that the river he was about to cross had an average depth of three feet. The story has it that he drowned nevertheless, a victim of averages. Federal officials and agencies are now flooding the public with tricky statements such as those I cited above which, unless contradicted, are bound to drown us in a sea of confusion.

Budget Comparisons Deceptive

Total federal spending in 1965 as a percentage of GNP is *not* the lowest in fourteen years and non-defense spending in relation to GNP is *not* lower in 1965 than it was in 1935; it is higher. Federal employment has been stable—at 2,345,000 in November 1963 and in May 1965—only because most of the new or expanded federal programs are being carried out through state and local government employees whose number has been soaring, under federal pressure and with federal financing. While those employees are statistically classified as state and local, many of them carry out programs enacted by Congress, work under orders from Washington bureaus and are at least partly paid from federal funds. Federal subventions to state and local governments have quadrupled in the past ten years. LBJ's boast in his Budget Message that federal employment grew proportionately less than the U.S. population in the past ten years neglected to mention that during that time civilian government employment (federal-state-local) shot up 43 per cent—compared with an increase in population of only 18 per cent and in private employment of 11 per cent. Ten years ago there was one person on the public civilian payroll for every eight in private employment. Today that ratio is down to 1:6.3. Where will it be ten or twenty years hence at that rate of "progress"?

When Mr. Johnson talked about "total federal spending" he was using an incorrect term. It is evident from the tables in his January 1965 budget that he was referring not to the *cash-consolidated* budget but to the *administrative* budget which now excludes about one-fourth of all federal spending.

The "administrative budget," when first established, was intended to give a comprehensive picture of federal income and outgo. It still included 97 per cent of the cash flow in the late 1940s. But then several major items were shifted from the administrative budget to so-called trust funds whose annual total now exceeds $30 billion. The start of such a big new program as the interstate highway system in 1956 boosted federal road spending from less than a billion to four billion dollars annually—but it reduced highway costs in the administrative budget to almost nothing. Some of the sharpest expansions in federal spending have taken place in social security and unemployment benefits which are channeled through trust funds. Medicare will not add to the administrative budget but will of course boost federal spending very substantially. So to compare the size of the administrative budget in 1965 with earlier years is outright deception.

1984 *by 1984?*

The term "total federal spending" which Mr. Johnson used is commonly applied to the cash-consolidated budget (payments to the public) which includes transactions in the administrative budget as well as in the trust accounts. The cash budget has come into increasing use in recent years as a more comprehensive and meaningful yardstick of federal spending. In fact, both JFK and LBJ have repeatedly expressed preference for the cash budget, not necessarily because it is more inclusive but because it shows a smaller deficit: only $21 billion over the past five years compared with $29 billion in the administrative budget. But when it comes to historical comparisons LBJ occasionally likes to shift back to the administrative budget because it excludes some of the fastest growing spending categories.

"Total federal spending," *i.e.*, payments to the public, in fiscal 1965 equalled 19 per cent of GNP, or slightly *more* than it did in three years during the mid-1950s, according to the President's latest *Budget in Brief* (p. 76). Even so, total federal spending appears to have established

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FEDERAL EXPENDITURES 1955 AND 1965

(Payments to the Public)

	1955	1965[2]	Increase
	— billion —		per cent
Total	$ 70.5	$121.4	+ 72%
Defense related:	42.9	59.7	+ 39
National defense	40.9	52.8	+ 29
Space research & technology	0.1	4.9	+562
International affairs & finance	2.0	2.0	+ 1
Veterans services and benefits	5.1	6.0	+ 17
Interest on the debt	4.7	8.5	+ 81
Domestic services	17.9	47.2	+164
Health, labor & welfare	9.5	28.9	+204
Education	0.4	1.5	+287
Commerce & transport (highways)	1.1	7.4	+541
Natural resources	1.3	2.8	+126
All other	5.6	6.7	+ 19%

a remarkable record of stability in proportion to GNP over the 1952-1965 period to which Mr. Johnson apparently referred. But this does not mean that governmental growth has come to a halt. The overall total simply hides an unprecedented expansion in domestic welfare programs behind a sharp relative cutback in outlays for national defense, as shown in the table.[1]

The slight rise in defense outlays from their post-Korea low was largely consumed by higher prices. But domestic services multiplied two and a half times—an increase of 164 per cent over a ten-year period when population and prices advanced only about 18 per cent each. Proponents of big government usually explain this expansion as having been made necessary by a "lag" on the part of state and local governments. But the spending of state and local governments from their own sources meanwhile shot up 110 per cent, of which less than 40 per cent can be attributed to greater population and higher prices.

While public spending for civilian purposes jumped 164 per cent, personal consumption—that is the outlays which individuals and families incur for themselves for necessities and pleasures—rose only 65 per cent: food 39 per cent, clothing 53 per cent, housing 73 per cent, automobiles 81 per cent, etc. On a *per capita, constant dollar* basis, personal consumption increased 22 per cent, governmental spending (federal-state-local) for domestic purposes 70 per cent. These trends provide a pungent comment on John Galbraith's myth that consumers are luxuriating while government is being starved. Continued expansion of public services at three times the rate of growth in private spending for another decade or two would give us the government-directed, centralized society George Orwell pictured. It is understandable that President Johnson stopped long-range projections of governmental revenues and expenditures which the Budget Bureau had started to develop. They might have drawn too realistic a picture of the future of the Great Society.

Possibly the most significant yardstick for measuring individual versus socialized decision-making is the ratio between personal consumption expenditures and governmental spending for domestic purposes, *i.e.*, the relationship between the sums which the individual lays out according to his own discretion and those the government spends for him.[3] Here is what happened over the past decade:

	Fiscal 1954	Fiscal 1964
Personal Consumption	$234	$386
Govt. Expenditures (federal-state-local) for domestic services	52	122
Ratio	22%	32%

Only in future years, when the passing of time gives us a broader perspective, shall we be able to recognize that the most significant transfer from private to public decision-making over money took place neither in the 1930s nor in the immediate postwar period, but during the 1950s and 1960s.

Though some public officials like to blame defense for our crushing tax burden, those costs are responsible for a shrinking share of public spending. *In the annual battles over the division of public funds, over the slicing of the budget dollar, the Armed Services have almost always lost out to the politically Charmed Services—domestic welfare programs, lobbied for by powerful, well organized, special interest groups.*

Defense Has Come Second

Rapid demobilization after World War II lowered military costs to a mere 17 per cent of all public (federal-state-local) expenditures in 1950. That unilateral disarmament led to the Korean War which, in turn, boosted defense spending to 40 per cent of all government costs in 1953. Ever since, the share of the military has been declining and gradually slid to 25 per cent by 1964. If we include outlays for space and foreign aid, the cost of national security may be said to equal 30 per cent of all governmental spending in the United States. We now devote only half as great a share of our GNP to national defense as the Soviet Union, as Timothy Sosnovy, Soviet economy specialist at the Library of Congress, demonstrated

1 A fourteen-year comparison (1952 to 1965) would show an even stronger contrast between the growth of defense spending (27 per cent) and of domestic services (330 per cent). But because 1952 might be called a war year, I thought it fairer to present a ten-year comparison.

2. These are official estimates of January 1965. Treasury Secretary Fowler disclosed on July 21 that the defense-related costs in fiscal 1965 actually had run close to $2 billion *lower*, domestic services $2.5 billion *higher* than estimates. Thus, the analysis above *understates* the discrepancy between defense and welfare spending trends.

3 There is a technical overlap because welfare costs are included in government outlays and also, when spent, shown as personal expenditures. But this does not change the picture significantly.

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in an incisive analysis of "The Soviet Military Budget," in the April 1964 *Foreign Affairs*.

When LBJ started to work on the 1965 budget, the Tuesday morning following JFK's burial, he realized that the American public was not prepared for the vast expansion in public spending which his domestic schemes required. There was only one way to present a modest overall budget total while pushing the gravy projects of the Great Society: slash National Defense. His Defense Secretary's ability to carry out this policy made Mr. McNamara LBJ's hero and strong man, a willing hatchetman for the White House who could beat the leaders of the Armed Services into submission, or replace them with more pliable successors.

LBJ refined the policy of unilateral partial disarmament to a new perfection but it actually dates back two decades to the days when Harry Truman's Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, dismantled the Armed Services, inviting the Communist takeover of Eastern Europe and much of Asia. The American public was lulled into a false sense of security by such statements as former Budget Director David Bell's: "We give top priority to defense and then argue about what comes second." Unfortunately it has been the other way around. In a carefully documented study of postwar budget formation, Samuel P. Huntington of the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University found:

"In both the Truman Administration before the Korean War and in the Eisenhower Administration after the war, the tendency was:

"1) to estimate the revenues of the government or total expenditures possible within the existing debt limit;

"2) to deduct from this figure the estimated cost of domestic programs and foreign aid; and

"3) to allocate the remainder to the military.[4]"

Upon assuming the Presidency Mr. Eisenhower promised to "reduce the share of national income which is spent by government." This promise he kept: federal expenditures as a percentage of national income (NI) dropped from 23.8 per cent in 1952 to 23.1 per cent in 1960. But this was accomplished only by cutting national security from 16.5 per cent of NI to 11.7 per cent while boosting domestic services from 3.8 per cent to 8.2 per cent of NI.[5]

To view this in historical perspective: It took 160 years—from 1789 to 1949—to bring federal expenditures for civilian purposes to a level of $10 billion. It took only another seventeen years, to the fiscal year 1966, to lift them from $10 to $53 billion. To be fair and impartial I probably should mention that of the $43 billion increase in seventeen years, $21 billion were added in nine years of Truman-Kennedy-Johnson, $22 billion in eight years of Eisenhower.

No Major New Weapons

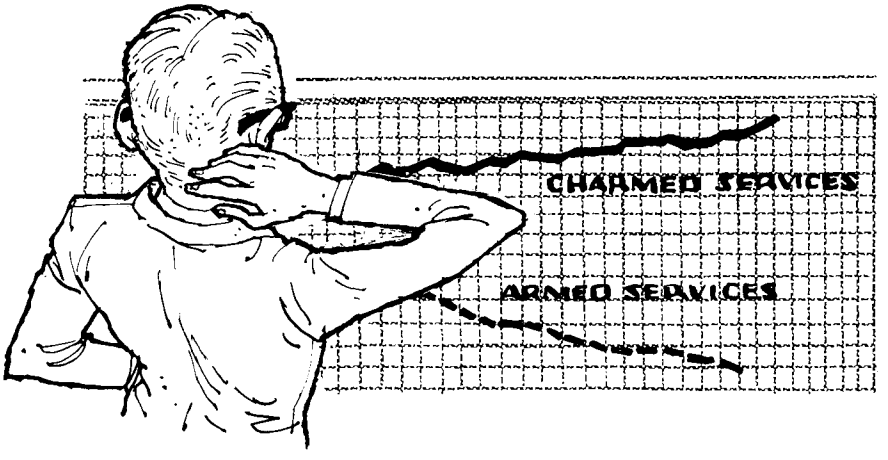
Only twice in the postwar period, during the Korean conflict and after the Bay of Pigs debacle and the failure of JFK's Vienna talks, did national security receive more attention. On the whole, our generals and admirals were no match for the numerous special interest groups which promised the President votes in return for support of their pet projects. Not long before becoming Controller of the Department of Defense, Charles Hitch had predicted that defense costs would (and should) remain at 10 per cent of GNP through the 1960s. But they equal less than 8 per cent in LBJ's budget for 1966 and could slide below 7 per cent by 1970.

Mr. McNamara slashed the 1964 budget of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by $14 billion before he sent it to Congress. In fiscal 1965 defense outlays ran $4 billion lower than in 1964 but those "savings" were more than made up by a $6 billion spending boost for non-military purposes. Under continued browbeating from the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs trimmed their budget requests for fiscal 1966—only to have Mr. McNamara chop off another $8 billion.

The number of military projects or programs scrapped, deferred or slowed down to a snail's pace in the past few years is legion; the number of major new weapons systems put into active use is zero. I have space to mention only a few of the major projects which failed to find favor with our Secretary of Defense.

The Navy has long asked for a changeover to nuclear power for its over-8,000 ton vessels, particularly aircraft carriers. No one disputes the vast superiority of nuclear over conventional propulsion and a review of the latest edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships* drives home the grave threat posed by the expanding Soviet Navy, especially its subsurface fleet. But Mr. McNamara rejected all such plans because each nuclear-powered carrier would cost $100 to $150 million more. Even the *New York Times* called the decision "an example of foolish economy" and "a backward step" and Secretary of the Navy Fred Korth resigned over it. But there it stands as of now.

Air Force leaders are deeply troubled by the decline in our bomber power. The B-47s are being phased out and the lives of the ten-year-old B-52 (modified) and B-58 are being



4 **The Common Defense: Strategic Programs in National Politics** (New York, Columbia University Press, 1961) p. 221.

5 The balance—veterans services and interest on debt—dropped from 3.5 per cent to 3.2 per cent of NI.

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stretched out for up to another ten years. They are to serve as our only bombers into the early, or even mid-1970s. Responsible military experts have repeatedly demanded a more advanced "follow-on" bomber such as a supersonic plane with high and low altitude penetration capability or a missile-carrying strike plane (AMSA). But they have been unable to persuade Mr. McNamara that manned bombers are needed at all, or that we should develop nuclear-powered aircraft and that a Polaris-Minuteman missile program could not do the whole job—although experts call this at best a minimum deterrent force. General LeMay's efforts were in vain and General Power's dire warning in *Design for Survival* went for naught. Mr. McNamara even cut the Minuteman force to 1,000, substantially below the minimum of 1,800 that the Air Force deemed necessary.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously recommended the adoption of the Skybolt air-to-ground missile in order to increase the usefulness of our — and Britain's — existing manned bombers. But Mr. McNamara, determined to save $2.5 billion, overruled the military, dealt a blow to NATO—and helped to sink the Tory government. The nuclear rocket Rover, the manned space glider Dyna Soar, the Pluto ram jet rocket engine, and other projects too numerous to list shared Skybolt's fate.

Mr. McNamara based his refusals on "cost efficiency studies." But there seem to be glaring holes in his knowledge of what our potential opponents are up to. He declared last April 12th that the Russians had no solid propellant ballistic missiles; whereupon the Soviet Government on May 9th paraded "Iron Maiden," a solid-fueled MMRBM. Previously Mr. McNamara had nixed plans for an American MMRBM.

GS Supersedes Nike X

Our most glaring deficiency may well be the absence of an anti-missile missile system. But though it would take at least five years from the time of decision until a working system could be established, Mr. McNamara has so far turned a cold shoulder toward those plans and deferred a decision on the Nike X project. After all, an antiballistic system might cost $20 to $30 billion which are urgently needed for Great Society projects.

Now, maybe Mr. McNamara *knows* that Mr. Brezhnev's announcement in early July 1965 about important Russian strides in anti-missile defense facilities had little basis in fact and that his reference to orbital rockets (which can be put into orbit and brought down by radio signals to hit a target on earth) only expressed wishful thinking. But suppose Mr. Brezhnev *wasn't* just boasting. We could wake up some sunny morning to a great surprise of the type with which the Russians have presented us a few times since they launched the first sputnik. But then maybe we won't wake up at all some morning.

Perhaps nothing can prevent a surprise nuclear attack. But if one ever came, an effective fallout shelter program could save many millions of American lives. The never published Gaither report is said to have recommended one, and many experts since then have strongly urged the government to construct and equip shelters. Nobody has done so more convincingly and impassionately than Dr. Edward Teller. It has been estimated that a $5 billion program could save 30 million lives, and a $25 billion program 72 million lives. Even more important, the existence of such protection and our ability to survive a nuclear strike might deter a potential aggressor. But no such plans are presently pursued by the Administration and even recommendations for an incentive shelter program have been dropped.

That the Soviets are ahead in military space technology has been evident for some time and our Air Force is gravely concerned over the potential of inner-space space platforms in close orbit range. But it was unable, until the flight of Gemini 5, to get even a qualified go-ahead for a man-in-space program. When the Navy and Air Force chiefs wanted their own specialized TFX, Mr. McNamara overruled them and decided on a different and less costly model—now a F-111A and F-111B—which is already in trouble on several counts. I could cite many other instances in which our Secretary of Defense disregarded the unanimous advice of the Joint Chiefs, rejected or reduced a program, deferred action or settled for a cheaper plan. In some cases he may have been right, there are ways to get "more bang for the buck." In many cases we'll never know.

Former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric suggested reducing defense expenditures 25 per cent from their 1964 level. That such action would cut heavily into the military muscle few will deny. But it is not likely to happen. Every time we trim our defense apparatus, crises develop, somewhere in the world, which force us into action—with consequent boosts in military costs.

We are now about to repeat that experience. Upon his return from Vietnam on July 20 Mr. McNamara admitted that the situation had deteriorated in the preceding twelve months and that we need to invest more heavily in manpower and materiel. He did not explain why the big United States has not been able to cope with aggression by a small country—even though the reason is becoming increasingly clear: the Communists know just when we start to turn paper-tiger. If we react to their provocations in a half-hearted way, with a goal in mind other than victory, the engagements tend to drag and we are lucky to get out without overt defeat. The Hanoi government won't negotiate with us because it feels, not without reason, that we lack either the strength or the determination to put an end to its aggressive activities with adequate force.

Government Costs Spiral

While cost effectiveness studies are being used to kill defense projects, they do not seem to be applied to screen the welfare schemes that Mr. Johnson is railroading through Congress by the dozen. The cost of governmental services, which shot up from 12 per cent of the national income in 1944 to 17 per cent in 1954 and to 25 per cent in 1964, is headed for the stars. That process may go on for quite a while—until Communist aggressors take advantage of the niggardliness with which our government has been treating the Armed Services in its eagerness to expand the politically more promising Charmed Services. Unless, of course, this process is halted or reversed. But there is no sign at this time that this is about to happen.

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The Open Question

Lincoln and the Cause of Freedom

HARRY V. JAFFA

In his "Lincoln Without Rhetoric" in the August 24, 1965 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, Frank Meyer has achieved something that is, so far as I can recall, absolutely without precedent: he has written a critical essay on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War without mentioning or even alluding to the subject of slavery. I respect his bold rejection of received opinion about Lincoln, but I believe his conclusions are based upon mistakes and omissions as to facts, and upon inferences from the present that give erroneous impressions of the past. Most important, his strange silence about the central cause of the war, represents a default of his own deepest conviction, so often and so eloquently affirmed, of the absolute value of human freedom.

Juridical Bases Examined

Meyer charges Lincoln with responsibility for the weakening, if not the destruction of the "Constitution in its original form." Essential to that Constitution, says Meyer, was "what has usually been called 'checks and balances,' but is more accurately designated as the setting up of a state of tension between all the political centers of power so that effective final power rests in none of them." That this was the conception of the Founding Fathers, Meyer will undoubtedly argue, with supporting evidence, in his forthcoming book. He certainly has his work cut out for him. At the very least, and as a starting point, he must discredit the arguments of Hamilton and Madison in the *Federalist* papers, as authority for the meaning of the original Constitution. From the point of view of these Fathers, it was the Articles of Confederation in which the political centers were so disposed that effective final power was not to be found. It was above all to remedy that deficiency that the Constitutional Convention was called.

The doctrine that the Federal Government has many more implied powers than those enumerated in the Constitution is the juridical basis upon which most of the aggrandizement at the expense of the states has proceeded. If this doctrine is not in the *Federalist,* as I am convinced it is, it is assuredly to be found in Hamilton's opinion on the constitutionality of the first Bank of the United States. Jefferson, who was not at the Convention, opposed Hamilton's opinion; but President Washington who, like Hamilton, was a member of the Convention, adopted it, and signed the bill chartering the bank into law. Hamilton's conceptions of the federal supremacy later became the foundation of John Marshall's jurisprudence, as they became the basis of the indivisible and indestructible unionism of Webster and, through him, of Andrew Jackson. Meyer writes: "Until the Civil War no one knew whether a state could secede as its last sanction, and this was of the utmost necessity if the Federal Government were not to grow so strong as to destroy the tension that guaranteed liberty." If by this he means that no one knew if a state could secede until one had tried, he merely affirms a truism. But if he means that no one knew whether a state could *lawfully* secede, that is, whether the Constitution itself permitted a state to secede, then he is saying what no one could safely say in the presence of President Jackson. In 1832 South Carolina passed a Statute of Nullification, forbidding federal agents to collect the tariff in that state. Jackson responded by declaring that any idea, either of nullification or of secession, was "incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicated expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed." And he promptly asked for and received from Congress an act authorizing him to send an army into South Carolina, if necessary, to collect the tariff there. In the nullification crisis Jackson moved more decisively, and much more uncomprisingly, to assert federal supremacy, than Lincoln did in 1861, prior to the firing on Fort Sumter. I believe that Jackson's opinion on the supposed right of secession, based squarely on the major pronouncements of Hamilton, Madison, Washington, Marshall, and Webster, and many others, was in accord with the dominant tradition of American statesmanship, and of an overwhelming majority of Americans, North and South, who had any opinion at all upon the subject. Most historians doubt that the secessionist theory was ever held by a majority of the people who formed the Confederacy, on the eve of the Civil War, although it may have been held by a majority in South Carolina. Many Confederate leaders, including Robert E. Lee, did not believe in it. For Lee the South, in 1861, was exercising the right of revolution, as it has in 1775. Mr. Meyer has as much right as George Washington ever had, to say what he thinks the Constitution ought to be. But when he says what it was, he is bound by the record. I do not know of a single authority who ever held that the actual Constitution ever depended for its efficacy upon uncertainty as to whether a state could secede.

Sovereignty Vested in People

"Confounding almost every school of political theory, the American Constitution rested sovereignty nowhere (unless it were in every individual citizen) . . ." writes Meyer. In fact, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people is to be found plainly upon the face of nearly every great document of the period. The Virginia Bill of Rights, of June 12, 1776, states "That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them." The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are both authorized by reference to the people as the sovereign power. In the long contest as to the relative primacy of states and nation, no one seriously questioned the indefeasible authority of the people. The disagreement concerned, not the people's unequivocal sovereignty, but exactly who the

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people were who had formed the Union and had authorized the Constitution. Did sovereignty reside in the several peoples of the several states, or in the one people of the United States? From the former point of view, the Union was a compact among several peoples; from the latter, the states were subdivisions of and by one people.

It is historically incorrect to imply that the attempts to limit the powers of the Federal Government were attempts to produce or preserve limited government, that is, government which simply exempted private life as much as possible from every form of political control. Many of those who tried hard to keep federal hands off state governments, wished the state governments to lay strong hands upon private activities. The main opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts was not on the grounds that they were improper acts for any government, but that they were improper acts for the Federal Government. The most important and durable basis of the hostility to a strong central government, from the debate on the ratification of the Constitution until the firing on Fort Sumter, was the fear that such a government might some day have the power and the inclination to emancipate the slaves. Mr. Meyer's conception of the original Constitution as a system of multiple tensions seems somewhat tenuously to reflect the theories of John C. Calhoun, but Calhoun was the most famous of those who declared that slavery was, not a necessary evil, but a positive good. And is not slavery the most unlimited of all forms of government? How can one identify theories devised to protect slavery with the cause of limited government?

Lincoln's Clarity

The genius of Abraham Lincoln consisted above all in the clarity with which he perceived and demonstrated the inner connection between free, popular, constitutional government, and the mighty proposition, "that all men are created equal." Questions concerning the construction of the Constitution were absolutely subordinate to the principle which gave life and meaning to the whole regime. The sovereignty of the people, Lincoln argued, was itself an interence from the primordial tenet of human equality. Men originally equal in authority consent to form a people, and consent thereby to the authority of government. But how can consent be given to slavery, which denies the requirement of consent? How can one man enslave another, without conceding that the other might, if he can, enslave him? If states can declare their right to enslave human persons within their borders, what principle is it that they appeal to in denouncing arbitrary power in the Federal Government? The principle of a free constitution rests not in any particular distribution of the powers of government, but in the recognition that *all* men have rights which *no* government should infringe. But Lincoln was no abolitionist; he was the least doctrinaire man who ever lived, Mr. Meyer to the contrary notwithstanding. He conceded the immense difficulties that obstructed the path to Negro freedom. All he demanded was that we place our feet on that path, and not on one that faced towards the spread and perpetuation of slavery. The issue which led to his election was *not*, "Shall slavery be abolished?" but "Shall slavery *or freedom* be abolished?" It was not to end slavery in the South, but to prevent its extension into free territories, and its legalization in free states, that the Republican Party was formed. If the states of the Confederacy had not sought to reverse the results of the election of 1860 by force and violence, Lincoln neither could nor would have taken any of those steps which led to the violent demise of slavery.

Meyer suggests that the right policy for Lincoln in 1861 was to let the erring brothers depart in peace, and to rely "upon the passage of time, the congruity of natural interest, and the exercise of statesmanship to reunite the federal structure." Of course, such a possibility was considered and debated thoroughly at the time. Meyer forgets that the United States nearly went to war with Great Britain over Oregon in 1845; and that the French attempted to install a puppet government in Mexico during the Civil War. The whole policy of the Confederacy was directed towards foreign alliances, and the European vultures waiting to descend upon the corpse of the American Union were ravenous. How would North and South have agreed to partition the territories, as foreign powers, when they could not agree upon their division when fellow citizens? How would they have dealt with fugitive slaves? How would they have dealt with each other's shipping, if the South reopened the slave-trade, regarded by the North as piracy? If one formed a military alliance with one European power, would not the other have done so with another? The wars that would have followed the Balkanization of the continent cause imagination to boggle. The Civil War might have been a tea party by contrast. And where would the mighty power have been that today can defend freedom around the world? Meyer's theories of peaceful coexistence for the 1860s have all the political realism of Bertie Russell's for the 1960s.

Constitution Not Subjective

The purpose of all government—to secure the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—is not itself the result of government. Today it is positivism and relativism, so characteristic of our self-proclaimed Liberals, which lead to the notion that "man makes himself," and sees no purpose outside the will of man, which ought to inform the government of man. From positivism and relativism come the opinion that whatever a sufficient mass can be persuaded to desire, it is right for them to desire. And if ends can be freely chosen, so can means. From this it follows that morality should be governed by opinion, not opinion by morality. Hence the Constitution, too, may mean whatever enough people (or the judges) think it should mean. Against this debased, plebiscitary version of supposed free government, Lincoln is the great prophet of our tradition. He is at once the greatest of our true liberals, and the greatest of our conservatives. It was he, more than anyone, who said clearly that just government must be controlled by moral purpose, and that no counting of heads can turn wrong into right. If slavery was a positive good, he observed, then it was strange that no man ever sought the good of it for himself! **(Continued on p. 842)**

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Reading and Normality

Despite some improvement in recent years, three-fourths of the schools in this country still employ the quasi-imbecile "look-say" method of instruction in reading! But the friends of literacy are aroused and intelligently active.

Kirk

Meeting in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria, the Reading Reform Foundation held its fourth annual conference, early in August. This non-profit organization has Mr. Watson Washburn as its president and Mrs. Raymond Rubicam as vice-president; its headquarters are at 36 West 44th Street, New York 36. Fourteen textbook publishers held displays in connection with the conference: clearly, the advocates of "phonics," as opposed to "look-say," must now be taken most seriously.

Your servant addressed the Reformers on the subject of "Reading and Normality." The decay of the arts of reading and writing, I maintained, produces corresponding decay in private character and in the civil social order.

Reading Essential to Normality

"Normality" does not mean mediocrity. On the contrary, the normal human being is one who attains to full manhood — who apprehends the norms, the standards, of human nature. Over many centuries, certain disciplines have been developed to enable man to attain normality. One of the most important of these is the art of reading.

In an age when books were few and the ears of most men attuned to oral rhetoric, reading was somewhat less essential to the attaining of normality than it is today. But in our time, civilized man is lost without the book. If unable to read adequately, he seeks true normality with the greatest difficulty.

Since the beginnings of society and since human nature acquired its character, men have endeavored to maintain two kinds of order: the inner order of the soul, and the outer order of society. We come to know the norms for the person through the study of great literature of an ethical cast—the Bible, for instance. We come to know the norms of society—the standards of order, justice, and freedom—through the study of philosophy, history, politics, and related disciplines, also imparted through a body of literature.

Illiteracy Breeds Anarchy

By a gradual progression, young people acquire an understanding of what is normal, through introduction to the wisdom of our ancestors expressed in great books. First the child encounters fantasy; then biography and narrative history; presently poetry, the drama, and the higher imaginative literature; in time, philosophy and theology. By a sort of illative process, one learns what it is to be a man, and how men may live together in justice. This genuine education lacking, "the center cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world." When words are not clearly apprehended, when the moral imagination is not waked by great literature, then normality as we understand it is unattained.

So the work of the Reading Reform Foundation is concerned with much more than mere technical improvement of reading-skills, important though such improvement is. The more enlightened school administrators have begun to give primacy to reading-reform: at the conference a principal speaker was Dr. Carl Hansen, the eminently successful and courageous superintendent of schools of the District of Columbia; and so was Mrs. Sarah Folsom, the recently elected Arizona superintendent of public instruction.

Two of the principal writers on the reform of reading also spoke: Mr. Glenn McCracken, the author of *The Right to Learn,* and Professor Charles C. Walcutt, editor of *Tomorrow's Illiterates.* These gentlemen are associated in the basic reading system which the publishing firm of J. B. Lippincott has undertaken.

The 'Look-Say' Fallacy

Mrs. Ann Hughes, the Foundation's director of statistical research, reported on studies of the comparative efficacy of the "phonics" and "look-say" methods of instruction. With Dr. Louis Gurren, Mrs. Hughes has investigated all "adequately controled" tests of effectiveness; the Gurren-Hughes summary was published in the *Journal of Educational Research,* last April. Of 22 rigorous comparisons of the results of "look-say" and "phonetic" reading programs, nineteen favor phonics, three favor neither phonics nor "look-say," and not one favors "look-say!"

As Mr. Watson Washburn remarks, the Gurren-Hughes report may be the final blow to the "look-say" fallacy. Dr. Gurren and Mrs. Hughes conclude with these recommendations: "1) that all the main sound-symbol relationships, both vowel and consonant, be taught intensively from the start of reading instruction; 2) that schools provide their teachers with suitable materials and in-service training for using an intensive phonetic approach; and 3) that colleges and universities offer training in the necessary techniques, both in summer workshops and in regular courses."

Adequate readers, most notable in the Open Court of the Lippincott series, are now available for the phonics program. Everyone who needs more information on this subject should write to the Reading Reform Foundation.

Abnormal and ineffectual instruction in reading has plagued this country for a generation. With a return to normality—a return to the alphabet, if you will—in this fundamental discipline, we may commence the restoration of norms in other realms.

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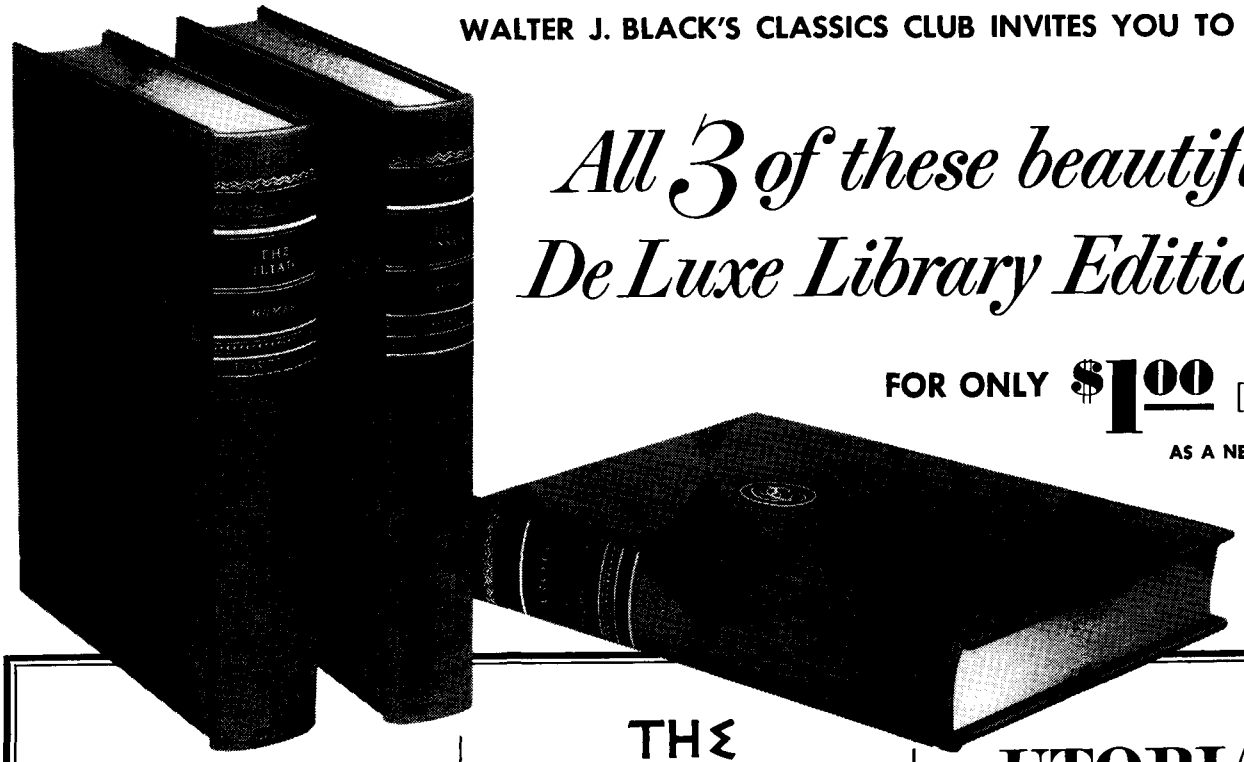

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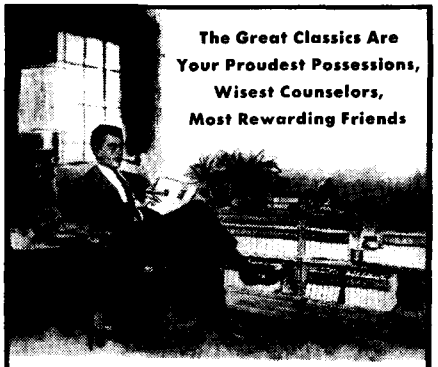

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The Communication Gap

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

Writing last November 3 in these pages, M. Stanton Evans called attention to the remarkable return of a classic American folk-hero, the political pamphleteer. He had in hand then three works (*A Choice Not an Echo, A Texan Looks at Lyndon, None Dare Call It Treason*) whose total sales, in 1964, may easily have exceeded ten million copies. Each book, Evans noted, had been published by an obscure if not strictly one-shot press. He concluded that the situation was ominous: "The appearance of these volumes and their popular reception is dramatic warning to a communications industry which has warped its product to Liberal biases. Had the commercial publishers done the job they claim to do, it is unlikely such books would have been written, and certain that, if written, they would not have found so enormous an audience. When the nation's best-sellers are produced in Alton, Ill., Florissant, Mo. and Canyon, Tex., rather than in the giant publishing houses of New York, the evidence is good that the communications gap has reached revolutionary dimensions."

That kind of pamphleteering answers a psychological need. When a reasoned, balanced, polite discourse is refused a hearing not for one year or two but for thirty years, then one is tempted to assume that only a hyperbolic attack will gain any notice, and the total assault feels like welcome catharsis after the long period of intolerable inactivity. So the pamphleteers of '64.

The Liberal Establishment, by M. Stanton Evans. Devin-Adair, $5.95

But that is only the first step, a first necessary maneuver by the patrols, the scouts, the sapping squad. The enemy remains unshaken, he has learned only that the natives are restless. The battle is not yet joined. Battle is, after all, a *communication* of sorts, and there is a communication gap.

Mr. Evans has written *The Liberal Establishment* in order to close that gap, in order to engage the enemy. Anyone who has studied the pamphleteers and the daily newspapers of recent years will find little that is new by way of fact in Mr. Evans' book, but a great deal that is valuable by way of tone, aspect, interpretation. His point might be put this way: concerning recent U. S. policy, none need call it treason, because it's so obviously a combination of incompetence and rascality, riding the momentum of a generation of Liberal propaganda.

The momentum, as Mr. Evans shows, has made a clean sweep of almost every pulpit, broadcasting station, movie maker, news desk, publisher, classroom, and congressional seat. This—*messieurs, mesdames*—is the Establishment, and its effect has been deep. Evans gives a brilliant analysis of the press coverage of the Goldwater pre-convention campaign, from which one can only conclude that there is indeed an Establishment way of seeing things. Remember that kooky little headline from Boston? "Goldwater Aides Grimly Hold to Runaway Win." Such headlines are not published when there are editors who struggle to communicate.

Whereas it was the work of the patrols and scouts merely to name the enemy, it is the problem of a more ramified intelligence network to assess the enemy's total position and strength. This Evans does, with stunning fidelity to the factual record, showing how the conceptual flaws in Liberal ideology lead to failures and incompetence at the operating level; and then how the misbegotten policies of government open avenues for rascality. Those who think they have refuted Von Mises by ignoring him go right on with their attempt to manipulate the agricultural market by passing laws in Washington. Those who deny the myth of human perfection will not be astonished to find Billie Sol Estes walking into the agricultural loopholes thus opened up by ignorance and kept wired permanently open by strings running tautly to Washington.

Chapter and verse, it is all here, and not in the accents of Jeremiah but of Paul. The amazing record of William Wieland, and the perjury of his defenders. The return of Oppenheimer, the fall of Billie Sol, the concealment of Bobby Baker. Otto Otepka, Mary Jones, Don Reynolds: or, how the Establishment attempts to stifle the opposition by lying, by violence, by character assassination. Evans goes over the record not with the lament that all is lost, but in the knowledge that this has all been a mistake, serious to be sure, but possible to rectify, given right knowledge and firm will.

Right knowledge characterizes the beginning of the second phase, the engagement of the enemy. Mr. Evans has mapped the fortifications and invested the place. The Establishment knew last year that the natives were restless; now it knows that its position has been discovered, and surrounded.

AND SO WE BID FAREWELL to pamphleteering. The author of *Revolt on the Campus* and *The Fringe on Top* has moved the discussion, with this latest book, to the next level. But

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there is one level beyond this, to which we must move before we are ready for the all-out push. Running the rascals out is merely one aspect of the operation of installing—not a new set of rascals, one hopes. What to install? Some aspects of a new politics are known, and many more should be knowable. We are under a continuing obligation to think in terms of a positive alternative to the present policies, and on that score Mr. Evans is one of the voices I hope most to hear from.

Africa without Fear or Favor

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Africa: A Political Travelogue, by Thomas Molnar. Fleet, $6.95

By courtesy of the Relm Foundation—"whose great merit," he says, "is aiding scholars not conforming to orthodox Liberal ideology"—Thomas Molnar made the Grand Tour of Africa, from Tunis to Cape Town and, north again, to Cairo. In some ways, or so it seems to the jaded taste of a European, he rather resembles the wide-eyed Enquiring Traveller of the Victorian era, showing the same intellectual earnestness ("It is with this objective in mind that the traveller should observe everything around him"), the same disapproval of slovenly natives, the same indefatigable interest in all he sees and hears.

This touch of naiveté gives his book, as it gave Victorian travel books, great freshness. Mr. Molnar received, and conveys, very vivid impressions. Anyone visiting Africa for the first time must be struck by the indolence, incompetence and petty dishonesty which surround him, but it is unfashionable to report such things. Mr. Molnar accepts no such hypocritical restraint. He tells us that you can almost calculate the weeks since the departure of a colonial government "by the degree of neglect and dilapidation of buildings, streets, parks, and essential services."

He reports what all recent travellers have noticed but few have cared to describe so bluntly: the make-believe assurance, the closed minds and the sheer arrogance of the black officials and politicians who now sit behind the desks. "Ours is a one-party regime," snapped a young man from the Tunisian Ministry of Information. "You should not ask questions of journalists but of ministers and public officials." Mr. Molnar found that, though some nationalists, such as Joshua Nkomo in Rhodesia, pay lip-service to multi-racialism, they were not really interested in any suggestions from the whites; they were "deafened by their own clamour for independence"; they merely laughed when inconsistencies in their position were pointed out to them.

The black man's envy and resentment, having been deliberately fomented, now go very deep, and they are not cured by the colonialists' departure. The younger generation "feel cheated out of some imaginary birthright, as if independence had been granted to each of them personally, and someone had stolen the prerogatives which go with it."

Convinced that "decolonization means he has defeated the whites," the black man is determined to assert himself. Racial vanity has become the touchstone of all his affairs. Fictitious histories are invented, and old names, such as Ghana and Zimbabwe, inaccurately revived, in order to aggrandize the new states. French Africans have devised the pseudo-concept of *négritude*, which could surely seem meaningful only to people pathologically concerned about not being white.

In Algiers Ben Bella urged all the shoeshine boys to burn their equipment as a sign that they were now free from exploitation; a bonfire which achieved nothing except to deprive the boys of their only means of making even a precarious livelihood. The Egyptians insist on building utterly uneconomic steel mills: Ethiopia and Ghana equip themselves superfluously with expensive jet air-

J. R. R. Tolkien and the Pirates

When Dickens followed his reputation to the United States--and got a reception rivaled only by that of the Beatles—he quickly made himself unpopular by saying right out what the refined and polite thought no cultivated person would mention, namely that American publishers were pirates. They printed and sold books by Englishmen and Europeans with nobody's leave and with never a nickel of royalties paid. By 1891, this situation was alleviated, as books in English by non-Americans could then be copyrighted here. But not until 1955, when the Berne Convention was signed by all countries except those under the Socialist Enlightenment, did the rights of foreign authors have any real protection. However, the loopholes are still so capacious that books printed in England and distributed in the U.S. can still tempt bold pirates. Thus Ace Books, Inc., has brought out a three-volume edition of J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, one of the great works of modern literature. Such barbarity, incredibly, is beyond the law's protection. Prof. Tolkien has therefore authorized Ballantine Books to bring out a lawful edition in paperback (as well as *The Hobbit*, just in case the pirates go for that). This edition, moreover, will contain additional material, and can be identified by this statement on the cover: "This paperback edition, and no other, has been published with my consent and cooperation. Those who approve of courtesy—at least to living authors—will purchase it and no other.—J. R. R. Tolkien." And those who approve of honesty will discriminate between pirate and rightful owner in buying the noblest book of our time.

G. DAVENPORT

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liners. Desperately needed foreign investment, instead of being encouraged, is insulted, taxed and plundered.

In the Ivory Coast, records Mr. Molnar calmly, one meets "the usual problems: tribal multiplicity, incredible corruption and luxury for a handful of leaders, strict one-party system with a lot of yes-men appointed to the parliament, and a bevy of informers; judges who are mere instruments of the government, star-chamber methods in sentencing participants of real or imaginary plots against the President, rebellious intellectuals and students with half-baked ideas imported direct from the Paris left-bank cafés." And the Ivory Coast, be it noted, is probably the *best* of the new African states.

Socialism is everywhere the prevailing doctrine, or at least the prevailing label. By a familiar process, even those few governments which are not nominally socialist, have been forced to behave as though they were, in order to outbid their own left-wing dissidents, who are ubiquitously and vociferously supported by the busy trouble-makers of Cairo, Algiers and Accra.

IN THE MODERN FASHION, everything is judged by political standards and no one is allowed to stand aside. Any African with the slightest capacity or ambition is, in any case, virtually compelled, not only by snobbery but by the lack of industry, to join some branch of government service. The saddest figures are those moderate, educated, non-nationalistic Africans who used to be considered the hope of the continent; the civilization into which they were emerging has been destroyed and they are denounced as "white man's stooges."

The colonial governments, far from trying to "divide and rule," blanketed bitter differences of tribe, race and class. They kept the lid on Africa's boiling kettle. Chou En-lai was quite right; the situation now is ripe for every kind of upheaval.

Mr. Molnar attended the "Rivonia" trial in South Africa, and declares that the seriousness of the conspiracy and its Communist orientation were proved beyond doubt. He was "amazed" (that touch of naiveté again) to find not only Western governments but the United Nations urging the South African Government to set the defendants free.

Again he reports what every Western traveller must have felt but few nowadays admit: that to arrive in South Africa after journeying through the black-dominated states is like returning to the civilized world after a chaotic nightmare. About *apartheid* he is careful and fair. He scrupulously argues both sides of the case, contrasting the cruel pinpricks of "small" personal *apartheid* with the reasonableness, at least theoretically, of "big" apartheid, the policy of separate development.

Random Notes

● BOOKS AHEAD: A big fall season for biographies. Among those slated are Lawrence Wilson's *The Incredible Kaiser* (Wilhelm) and Marcus Gleisser's *The World of Cyrus Eaton* (Dutton): September, $5 and $6 respectively; Paul Hornung's *Football and the Single Man* and Lena Horne's *Lena* (both Doubleday, October, $4.95); *My Life for Beauty* by the late Helena R. (Simon & Schuster, November, $6) and—for a change of pace—*Memoirs of a Conservative* by the estimable Robert Strausz-Hupé (Norton, September, $5).

Unless some kind soul should invent another season, Edwin Way Teale's series is complete with *Wandering Through Winter* (Dodd-Mead, September, $6.50). . . . If anyone cares to read a book about those Canadian extremists, the Doukhobors, one was published in August: *Terror in the Name of God* by Simma Holt (Crown, $5.95, "Startling Photographs"). . . . Barbara Tuchman's next book, *The Proud Tower,* looks at the world as it was from 1890 to the eve of WWI; those who remember the opening chapter of *The Guns of August* will be intrigued. Macmillan will publish it late this year.

No new Edward Gorey books are listed, but he's illustrated another Ciardi poem: *The King Who Saved Himself from Being Saved* (Lippincott, October 4, $2.95). . . . At long (two years) last, a new Pogo book: *The Return of Pogo* (Simon & Schuster, October, $1.50). . . . The *New Leader* and Farrar launch a joint imprint series late in September; first title is Mihajlo Mihajlov's *Moscow Summer*. . . . Steve Allen's *Letter to a Conservative* due October 15, unless the mail's delayed (Doubleday, $5.95).

● LOOMINGS: Burt Kennedy will write and direct *Return of the Seven,* sequel to *The Magnificent Seven.* Yul Brynner will star, again. . . . *Is Paris Burning?* will feature (probably) Warren Beatty, Kirk Douglas, Leslie Caron and Jean-Paul Belmondo. . . . Shooting has started on the eleventh "Carry On" flick, *Carry On Cowboy*. . . . Soupy Sales' first film will be *Birds Do It.* They certainly do. . . . Vittorio de Sica may star Marcello Mastroianni in a tale about Italian immigrants in the U.S., tentatively titled *Gold in the Streets.* He's also reported considering a film version of Ugo Betti's *Queen and the Rebels*. . . . Two biografilms of Queen Isabella are near launch: one by Samuel Bronston and one by Mel Ferrer, to star his wife. . . . Ingmar Bergman's making a movie this year after all; 'tis called *Persona* and that's about all anybody knows.

● PICKETING EXCUSE OF THE FORTNIGHT: Herman's Hermits were barred from a high school auditorium in Dayton, Ohio because the Board of Education opined their appearance wouldn't be "worthwhile, cultural, recreational or educational."

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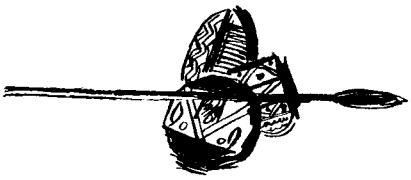
He quotes a retired black civil servant who, after a lifetime in a white environment, had gone back to his village and started wearing a loincloth. "You white men brought us great improvements," the old man



said, "cured our diseases and spread security. But the old ways had good points too: we did not have to work regular hours behind an office desk; our life was never secure but we lived in the midst of adventures. This is not to be despised either."

It is despised, though, by Western Liberals and black nationalists alike, and even Mr. Molnar thinks in terms such as "constructive citizenship" which are wholly alien to it. He is under no illusions, however, about the unrealism and disastrous wishful thinking of the intellectuals who pontificate about Africa from a safe distance, making themselves perfect tools of Communist manipulation. They have their equivalents in South Africa itself. Mr. Molnar attended a meeting at which the leader of the Progressive Party told all his followers that South Africa "has only friends in the Western world—he mentioned Adlai Stevenson, Mennen Williams, Harold Wilson, U Thant, Quaison-Sackey (Ghana's United Nations ambassador), and a few others —who desire nothing better than to defend this country before 'the court of world opinion.'"

With friends like that, South Africa scarcely needs enemies. Mr. Molnar's own admiration is reserved for a less fashionable type: the whites of Africa who still retain something of a pioneer simplicity. They "are not corrupted by the decadent intellectual milieu of Western Europe and America. Words here still mean realities; they do not have to be 'defined' as they must endlessly in the verbal laboratories of the West. . . ."

Prejudice, immoderation, double-standards and sophistical excuses have become so much the order of the day in discussing Africa that Mr. Molnar, because he is unusually free of these faults, will no doubt be accused of them. He has no time for cant phrases about "neo-colonialism" and "liberation." He is frankly on the side of civilization, hygiene, prosperity, order, honesty and good government, whether black or white.

Sometimes in the past few years I have begun to think I was the only genuine non-racialist left. Having read Mr. Molnar's book (and very readable it is), I am glad to know that there are at least two of us.

Science Fiction

It Takes All Kinds

THEODORE STURGEON

IN REPORTING to you (*NR*, June 1, 1965) the happy advent of Cordwainer Smith's first novel, *The Planet Buyer*, I mentioned its many references to different parts of a great epic of which it too is a part—a huge, beautifully integrated mosaic of planets and places and people. Some of the references I recognized as stories I had encountered from time to time in the magazines—I mentioned especially the girl D'Joan, of "The Dead Lady of Clown Town," and the horrific "Mother Hitton's Littul Kittons"; and I expressed excitement at references to stories I had not read or which surely must exist or must be written: ". . . the time they polished off Shayol, like wiping an apple on a sleeve." You can imagine my pleasure, then, at the appearance of this new collection by Smith, which I had no idea was in preparation, and which is compiled almost as if in direct response to my remarks. For here is "The Dead Lady" and "Mother Hitton," and the Shayol story, together with "The Ballad of Lost C'mell," a deeply moving episode in the lives of two of the characters who appear in the novel, and a fierce little opus called "Drunkboat," and if the hero's name, Arthur Rambo, strikes the ear reminiscently as that of a certain strange French poet, it is only because it is.

Smith's endpapers—dedication, prologue, and epilogue, and a short publisher's preface, are almost as fascinating as the book. He reveals himself as a dedicated, passionate, compassionate and cultured man with a charming sense of humor and self-abnegation. He happily asserts what he calls "direct stealing" from his sources, which are startling when one thinks of them in terms of science fiction: Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, Joan of Arc, the poetry of Rimbaud, *The Romance of Three Kingdoms* published by Lo Kuan-chung in the early fourteenth century, and Dante Alighieri. The surprising and surprisingly beautiful poetry in these books, on which I remarked in my last notes to you, is done by using Chinese, Persian, and Japanese verse forms with English words and rhythms. "I am not happy," he writes, "about the 1960s and with the terrible divorce which now exists between poetry and people in most of the English-speaking world. Something is wrong. Perhaps the poets. Perhaps the people. Perhaps you. Perhaps me."

The publisher reports that the man who calls himself Smith holds degrees of A.B., M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., and a certificate in applied psychology. He is a social scientist, a soldier (full colonel) and in my opinion a beautiful writer. I tried to read his dedication to some friends and found it impossible to do it aloud, it moved me so. The man and his work fill me with joy, and the same to you.

THE FANS of science fiction, a huge-voiced tiny minority of its readership, used to be a prime source of authors. One thinks of Bradbury, del Rey, Asimov, Damon Knight, Pohl, and many others. And then the source seemed to dry up. Lloyd Biggle, how-

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Space Lords, by Cordwainer Smith. Pyramid R-1183, 50¢

The Fury Out of Time, by Lloyd Biggle Jr. Doubleday, $4.50

Galactic Diplomat, by Keith Laumer. Doubleday, $3.95

The Star Fox, by Poul Anderson. Doubleday. $4.50

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Speaking Up . . .

Dr. Russell Kirk, founder of the quarterly journal *Modern Age* and now editor of the *University Bookman*, has spoken on nearly two hundred American campuses (and to many other audiences). His literary accomplishments include his books *John Randolph of Roanoke* and *Beyond the Dreams of Avarice*, to mention only two. His daily column "To the Point" appears in more than 100 newspapers throughout America.

Dr. Kirk is touring the West Coast early January, speaking on such subjects as conservative thought and educational theory. We invite you to write Catherine Babcock for speaking engagements.

Also available for speaking engagements: William A. Rusher, publisher of *National Review;* Frederick D. Wilhelmsen; Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of *The Winning Side;* Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of *National Review* and the newly published *The African Nettle;* Dr. Thomas Molnar, lecturer and author; William F. Rickenbacker, senior editor of *National Review;* and L. Brent Bozell, attorney, author of *The Warren Court: A Dissenting Opinion*, an analysis of the U. S. Supreme Court.

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ever, a name long known in "fandom," has become an author and a good one. My own vivid recollection of the name derives from the day when, as guest of the sf Convention in Chicago in 1962, I found myself, as member of a panel, seated next to a young man who handed me a mint copy of one of my early books for my autograph. I had signed perhaps 1,500 autographs in three days and had committed a certain amount of wassail between times, and I wrote carefully, "With warm regards," and signed it "Lloyd Biggle Jr."—an act which doubtless has ominous psychological implications. Now, however, I have happier reason to remember the name, for *The Fury Out of Time* is a very good book. Playing (yet again) with time-travel paradoxes, the plot still has the quality of the "adventurous journey" type of sheer good story, and helps to keep it from becoming a lost art. True, its last few pages seem to bear the marks more of duty to deadline than to that which preceded them in terms of color and character. The significant thing, however, is that in pace and style, and especially in incisive characterization, Biggle has the armament of a major writer. You will enjoy this book.

ONE OF the rediscoverers of that almost lost form of science fiction, the indestructible hero-who-outwits, which began to appear in the mid-thirties, is Keith Laumer. His indefatigable Retief, trouble-shooter in galactic diplomacy, finds himself repeatedly in strange cultural matrices where his government is in embarrassing positions, and gets it out. Though it is true that Retief sometimes outwits himself (though always thereby attaining his ends) he always *does* attain his ends. After about the fourth such encounter with his tactics and techniques, suspense must necessarily sag for the reader; one ceases to wonder if he can make it, but only how. Yet there is a certain fascination in this kind of thing and if easy reading with no pretensions at genuine science or political philosophy, poetry or dimensional characterization, is what you like, you'll like Retief's bumbling *opéra-bouffe*.

YOU MAY put yourself confidently in Poul Anderson's authorial hands; he never lets you down. Together with genuine swash and heady buckle, Anderson's people, tough and tender and resourceful, are always a pleasure to know. These three complete but connected novelettes, which appeared recently in *Fantasy & Science Fiction*, deal with adventurer Gunnar Heim, vagabond singer Vadasz, and the strange and dangerous Aleriona who menace that portion of space to which Earth has staked a claim. The stories are "Marque and Reprisal," "Arsenal Port," and "Admiralty." Read them as narratives if you will, and you will certainly not be disappointed. If, however, you like them as fables, you may find some bold solutions to the problem of alien ideologies which encroach, which form up, which press, which loom over the horizon in ways short of war.

The London Scene—I

The New Morality

SIR ARNOLD LUNN

THE POWER-HOUSE of what has come to be known as the New Morality is believed by many to be the diocese of Southwark, of which Dr. Mervyn Stockwood is the dynamic Bishop. What the *Observer* of April 1, 1962 flippantly described as "Mervyn's Caravan" includes Dr. John Robinson, the Bishop of Woolwich, whose provocative *Honest to God* has sold over 100,000 copies, Canon Douglas Rhymes, and Canon Stanley Evans.

The Bishop of Southwark has given an impressive account of the problems which confronted him when he took over his immense diocese. "I decided that new methods would have to be used to break down the barriers of misunderstanding and apathy. Somehow the Church had to convince the man in the street that Christianity was relevant. It was a tough assignment. I had parishes of over 10,000 with congregations of less than 100, in many cases less than fifty." In face of this difficulty he decided to gather young men of initiative and independent ideas and

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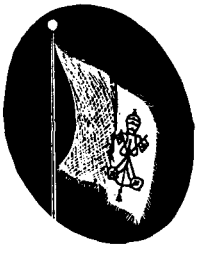
give them their heads. "I encourage people with ideas, not necessarily ideas compatible with my own or with orthodox clerics," he remarked to a *Sunday Times* reporter. "My diocese is said to be 'on the boil.' If that is so I accept it as a compliment. Boiling water is better than tepid; it can generate power and make it clean."

The Bishop and I have been friends for years. When he was the University Chaplain he invited me, a Roman Catholic, to speak in the University Church, clear evidence that he is not unduly overawed by convention. A few days before this article was written he dined at my home and I do not think I am being indiscreet if I state that it would be very foolish to assume that the Bishop agrees with the more eccentric views expressed by members of "Mervyn's Caravan." He is, in fact, orthodox about the main articles of the Christian creed.



There is an excellent chapter on the most famous member of "Mervyn's Caravan," the Bishop of Woolwich, in an outstanding book, *The Secularisation of Christianity*, by an Anglican theologian, Professor E. L. Mascall. Professor Mascall does not agree with the author of an article in *Encounter* who boldly states that "what is striking about Dr. Robinson's book is that he is an atheist." On the contrary he admits to a suspicion, which I share, that Dr. Robinson is "after all really an old-fashioned Christian theist" and he explains his eccentricities by suggesting that Dr. Robinson "had despaired of trying to convert the world to Christianity and had decided instead to convert Christianity to the world." The Archbishop of Canterbury left the Convocation of Canterbury in no doubt about his views of *Honest to God*. On May 8, 1963 he said:

> We are asked to think that the enterprise was a matter of being 'tentative,' 'thinking aloud,' 'raising questions,' and the like. But the initial method chosen was a newspaper article, crystal clear in its argument, and provocative in its shape and statement, to tell the public that the concept of a personal God as held both in popular Christianity and in orthodox doctrine is outmoded, and that atheists and agnostics are right to reject it.

But it is not with the Bishop of Woolwich's confused theology that we are chiefly concerned but with his view on morality. He rejects the theory that there are absolute standards ordained by God "engraven for all to see." "It is," comments the Archbishop of Canterbury, "on a deductive theory from the concept of love and not upon a full examination of Christ's teaching that the conclusion is being drawn that 'nothing of itself can be labelled wrong.'" "One cannot, for instance," writes the Bishop of Woolwich, "start from the position that sex relations before marriage or divorce are wrong or sinful in themselves. They may be in 99 cases out of 100 or even 100 out of 100, but they are not intrinsically so, for the only intrinsic evil is lack of love." Mr. R. J. B. Eddison in the course of a very friendly review in the *Church of England Newspaper* (March 6, 1964) of *The New Morality*, a book I wrote in collaboration with an Anglican, Garth Lean, speaks to this point: "What this book seems to me to do so effectively is to nail the heresy that love has in some way nullified the law. This is not what the New Testament teaches us. 'Love,' it says, 'is the fulfilling of the law.' In other words, because we love, we shall observe the precepts of the law all the more carefully. We might as well argue that care on the roads is a substitute for the highway code."

THE REAL INSPIRATION of the New Morality is the uneasy belief that the time has come to substitute democracy for theocracy in sexual morality. "It is very little use," writes Canon Douglas Rhymes, "to have a morality that will only be taken notice of by two per cent of nation. The moral law today is being ignored because it is already out-dated" (*Church Times*, March 22, 1963). The contrast between traditional Christianity and this new Christianity, which changes as public opinion changes, corresponds roughly to the difference between absolute and constitutional monarchy. For the traditional Christian God is an Absolute Monarch whose laws do not require human endorsement and must continue to command our unqualified obedience even if only Canon Rhymes' two per cent of the nation are Christian. For the constitutional theist God can only act on the advice of his clerical Ministers who will see to it that his moral laws

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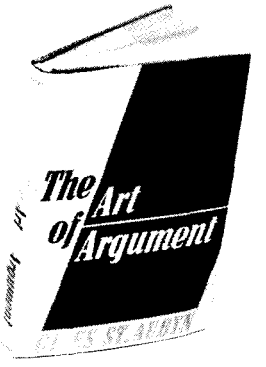

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change with the changing views of the human electorate.

Is there, however, any reason to suppose that the Churches will make more converts if they relax their standards? Is it not far more likely that the young will merely suspect that those who are so ready to compromise on the fundamentals of Christian belief have lost confidence in their ability to defend the faith? The basis of their argument is the false assumption that the modern world in general and modern youth in particular have no use for the traditional Christian morality. Young men have always found it difficult to be chaste, but there is a world of difference between failing invariably to live up to the exacting Christian code and attacking the code itself; and it was against the intellectual immorality of the middle-aged rather than the physical immorality of some of the young that Garth Lean and I directed our attack. There will always be a big lag between the standards a society officially approves and the standard of average behaviour; but if the official standards are lowered, the practice is correspondingly lowered.

It is because this is instinctively realised that a majority still resent any tampering with official standards. The *Sunday Telegraph* of August 4, 1963, revealed that a "Gallup Poll enquiry shows that less than one in four of the British public favour easier divorce." Three weeks later the same paper announced the result of a Gallup Poll concerning the statement by Dr. Peter Henderson, the Principal Medical Officer of the Ministry of Education, who said that young couples planning marriage are not unchaste if they have sex relations before marriage. Only 17 out of every hundred agreed; 66 disagreed and the remaining 17 replied "I don't know." "It would, of course, be optimistic," wrote the Editorial, "to conclude that all those who favour chastity practice it," but " 'enlightened' clergymen should not leap as easily as they sometimes do to the conclusion that the only thing that keeps people out of church is disapproval of Christian standards of sexual behaviour."

The results of various university debates confirm this view. Thus the Union Society Cambridge defeated by 263 votes to 209 on November 12, 1963 the motion "That 'till death do us part' is ridiculous," and on January 16, 1964 the Union Society, London University defeated by 282 votes to 189 the motion "That this house rejects the Christian conception of sex."

One interesting result of this New Morality campaign has been to produce a new alignment among Christians. My co-author in two books attacking this movement, *The New Morality* and *The Cult of Softness*, is an Anglican, who rightly feels that whereas he and I agree on fundamentals he is utterly opposed to those members of his own Church whose reinterpretation of Christianity in effect amounts to repudiation. Family differences between Christians are regrettable but relatively unimportant compared to the decisive struggle between Christians and secularists.

The London Scene—II

Pop Music

FRANK GANNON

I HAD OCCASION to walk down to Denmark Street—London's Tin Pan Alley—several months ago and found the sidewalk lined from one end to the other with teenage girls. In groups, in clusters, simply leaning against storefronts, there must have been about two hundred of them, each clutching an autograph book, a record album, or a piece of sheet-music. I was closely scrutinized as I walked past, but their glances turned hostile and threatening as they saw my recently trimmed hair, button-down shirt and three button suit without leather-trimmed lapels or lace-trimmed sleeves. Feeling rather fortunate to have arrived at my appointment, I asked a secretary the reason for this appalling sidewalk display. She explained that it was Easter Vacation and from eight in the morning until dusk these little Englishwomen kept their vigil hoping to catch a glimpse of Chuck Botfield, Carl Green, Derek Prott, or other similar luminaries. To American readers these figures of the entertainment industry might perhaps be more familiar as the Animals' organist, the Rockin' Berries' tambourinist, a Herman's Hermit, or one of Them.

The extent to which Pop music has hit Britain is little understood or appreciated outside these Isles. The rock-and-roll craze of the early 1950s in the United States, which reached its apogee in Elvis Presley, is today sustained only by a trans-

atlantic transfusion the extent of which can be grasped by a glance at the American Charts which feature, at this writing, eight of the top ten records by English groups. We are not exploring a new musical idiom or phenomenon here; rather we are witnessing a debasement of the essentials of rock-and-roll music.

The turning point came with Presley. So much twaddle was written and consumed about the sexuality of his performance as the secret of his success that it was a steady and easy progression for his duplicators and imitators to try to outdo each other on that level. As a result melody, harmony, and even remotely convincing, not to say understandable, lyrics were sacrificed to insistent, demanding, compelling beat. The epitome of this was a song like "The Bird" which was performed by artists who had the honesty to call themselves The Trashmen. Aside from the connotations of the word itself, the sole lyric was "the bird is the word" repeated over and over by a harsh voice against a background best described as rasping.

But there can only be so many "Birds," and the popular record industry in the United States, faced with an utterly degenerated musical idiom which could at best limp from one novelty to the next, was saved

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at the last minute by eight hands across the sea: the Beatles. Whether one thinks they are talented or not isn't really important. People here are convinced they are, and the reaction to this conviction is curious. The Beatles have become so institutionalized that Mum and Dad buy their records now and even old Grandad can probably sing at least half the lyric of "A Hard Day's Night." But the Beatle image has clearly become unsatisfactory: they are businessmen, they write their own songs, they make successful movies, one of them is an author; more, they marked a return to the "old" kind of rock-and-roll music with emphasis on melody and lyric, granted the beat to differentiate it from the Andrews Sisters. Their new LP, "Beatles for Sale," was long-awaited, and sold tremendously; none of the songs on it were issued as singles. This must be appreciated for its business acumen: single 45s cost six shillings and extended play 45s, with four songs on each, cost about eleven. LPs, on the other hand, cost £1-10-0, about thirty shillings (against the average weekly income of about £19).

With the Beatles in a special, almost old-time-music category, the single record buying public began to cast about for new idols, new stars. This was the genesis of the groups which, beginning as anti-Beatle in image, have now proven to be anti-music as well. The ultimate proletarianization of music was achieved. Whereas the Beatles were not handsome but distinctive, the new groups were ugly and traded on it; whereas the Beatles had long bowl-shaped haircuts, the new groups had shoulder-length unkempt coiffures; whereas the Beatles' appeal was generally musically based, the new groups ranged from what amounted to sexual insistence (the Animals), sexual brutality (the Rolling Stones), to sexual wondering (the Pretty Things). Their importance as idols was not their excellence or remoteness, but precisely their immediacy. Identity was now complete, and with the usual barriers of looks or talent or ability or even just gall gone the possibility of oneself becoming a pop star was great indeed: a matter of luck in fact.

Balancing the groups on the British Charts are a few people like Petula Clark, Sandie Shaw, Dusty Spring-

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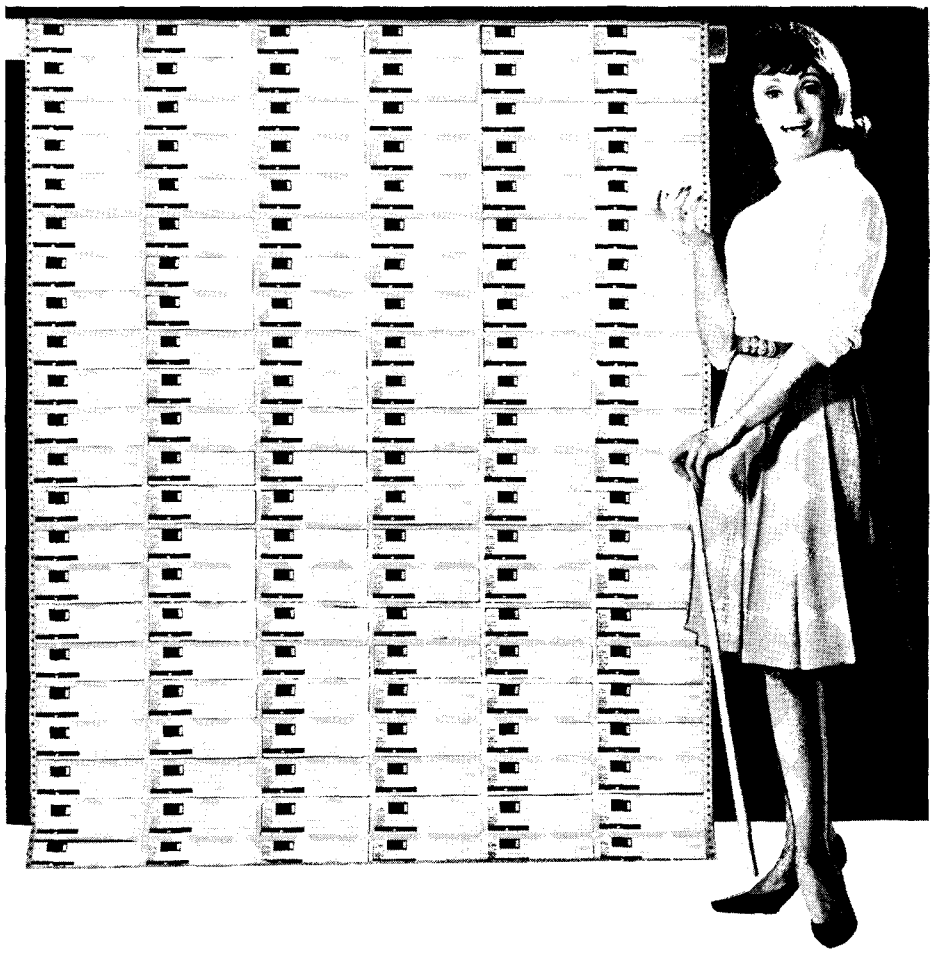

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field, Val Doonican, Cilla Black, who at least have the ability to carry a tune, and in some cases can do it quite well. But surrounding these happy few is a vast wasteland ranging from necrophilia — Twinkle's "Terry," which was debated in the House of Lords, and the Shangri-La's "Leader of the Pack," which was banned from air play by the BBC— to doubly fake folk, like Donovan, who is imitation Dylan. One has only to hear some of these groups, if indeed they can be heard above the screaming, to appreciate the multitude of sins covered by a good recording engineer. Without studio aids Wayne Fontana and the Mindbenders plunge on, flinging caution and pitch to the wind. And groups like the Who and the Them (which represent the ultimate identity trend: groups *with no individuality whatsoever,* even to the use of simple pronouns for their names) perform things which defy rational musical analysis.

These groups are nonetheless household words and their market is not solely the pre-teenage one, as it is in the States. Mick Jagger—"the Rolling Stone with the sexy voice," *i.e.,* he can't sing—is as much cocktail conversation in the King's Road as on street corners in Islington. Why? Whatever these groups may be like, they are English, which certainly appeals to the kind of patriotic consciousness currently prevalent; no end of attention is given to the groups' impact on the balance of trade. And one suspects that the relativism, not to say nihilism, of both image and performance strikes a responsive chord in all too many British hearts nowadays. It will be even more interesting to see what replaces it all when the masses decide they can always hear *themselves* sing in the bath and begin again to look for some talent in their performers.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

NOTES FROM A SEA DIARY: *Hemingway All the Way,* by Nelson Algren (Putnam, $4.95). This bit of unfortunate flotsam reads, now like *Tom Trashmouth's Adventures at Sea,* now like the gauzy effusions of a would-be Burton Holmes, and now like something Robert Benchley might have discarded as a bad start—all of which brings up the

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question, Whom does Nelson think he is? One from Column A, two from Column B, and he's just good old bleary, balding, middle-aged Nelson, the Edgar Guest of the seamy side—and Kowloon and Calcutta and all them other romantical places on the road to Mandalay are just so many more workie bars on North Clark street when you get right down to the guts-guts-guts of it all. The hungover travelogue is bad enough, but must our Nelson keep hauling in Hemingway — whom only he Understands and whom he therefore defends noisily against all the gibbering graduate students of Christendom? A few good jabs at Leslie Fiedler and other such (written, no doubt when Nelson was high on Mothersill's), but they're lost among the booze, broads and boredom. Yankee, Go Home! C. H. SIMONDS

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE SOVIET UNION, by Leonard Schapiro (Random House, $3.95). It is probably no exaggeration to say that Leonard Schapiro, with the publication of *The Origin of the Communist Autocracy* in 1956 and *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* in 1960, has established himself as the West's foremost scholar on the Soviet Union. This small volume (191 pages) is a guide to the maze of Soviet governmental and administrative structure, which could be made lucid only by one possessing enormous knowledge and acumen. As he clarifies the complex, often criss-crossing chains of command of administration, planning, and control from the Central Government through the Union Republics to the local "organs of state power," he never allows the reader for one moment to lose sight of the actual wielder of power, from top to bottom—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. While assessing with scrupulous fairness various easements and improvements in Soviet life since the era of Stalin, his dispassionate study provides no basis at all for wishful thinking that managers and technicians, rather than the Party, are now in control, or that Communist theory can be ignored as an operative factor in Soviet policy today. An invaluable practical guide and a superb piece of scholarship. FRANK S. MEYER

DINES discusses the coming

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Many shrewd investors feel the English pound is doomed—they ask *"when?"* rather than *"if"*. It appears completely rational to conclude that no temporary upturn in their exports can get around the fact that nearly all of England's reserves consist of *borrowed money!* If the English devalue, as many expect, one of the two pillars of international monetary finance will probably break the other mainstay: the dollar. *Have you considered what a dollar devaluation would mean to you???* You had better, before it is too late. Will the U. S. raise interest rates to 7%, as the English have done, and how bad a depression could this precipitate?

Did you notice...

Did you watch *American-South African and Dome Mines make new all-time highs* in August? Have you noticed the sharply increased pickup of newspaper coverage on monetary problems? DeGaulle has refused Treasury Secretary Fowler's bid for a world monetary conference—that's how sure he is of our bankruptcy! Is DeGaulle mad, or is he as sly as a fox? And how does the *disappearance of silver* from U. S. coinage tie in to the rapidly disintegrating picture? Are the "gnomes of Zurich" to blame for the monetary mess, or is it the short-sightedness of top U. S. officials? And how can you hedge—to protect yourself from possible trouble in London? Real estate, coins, short sales, bonds, blue chips, or gold and silver stocks?

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Immigration

(Continued from p. 822)

—in great part as the result of our highly successful immigration policies—but our present rate of natural increase—the highest in any industrial nation—is such that additional immigration is no longer needed and, indeed, becoming disadvantageous.

If we continue to permit the immigration of relatives of people with needed skills, of refugees, and, for obvious reasons, of people who have already been promised admittance, altogether an estimated 200,000 persons per year, we will have plenty. Occasional residence and naturalization of other foreigners should not be prohibited altogether. But neither should it be invited. At present, residence is granted and even citizenship, if (given the quota) there is no actual disqualification such as a criminal record. I should—with the exceptions noted above—make residence and citizenship a privilege to be granted only upon positive proof of the desirability of the new resident or citizen in terms of the nation's needs.

What about the overpopulated countries? I do not feel it our duty to solve their problems. But, whatever policy we pursue, in practical terms it will not affect their problems anyway. The Italian overpopulation problem is not solved even if we permit 20,000 Italian immigrants (rather than 5,666) a year, as proposed in the bill before Congress. It can be solved only if the Italians in Italy decide to solve it.

There are undoubtedly some countries that can benefit from further immigration. To name a few, Canada, Australia, Argentina and Brazil are in this situation. We are not; more specifically, we are no longer. Thus we should pass legislation to decrease not to increase immigration, and ultimately to reduce it to an insignificant number.

Circumstances change. Legislation should take account of them. I know of no economist who would regard this country as underpopulated. Most economists fear that we are rapidly becoming overpopulated, even without immigration. Under the circumstances, the legislation before Congress is obsolete even before being enacted. It should be replaced by legislation more in accordance with our actual situation.

Lincoln

(Continued from p. 828)

Jefferson before him had denied that slavery could be justified because of any supposed inferiority in the Negro. "Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others," Jefferson had written. Slavery robbed a man of his labor, and in the perpetual, unrelieved, hopeless bondage of the ante-bellum American Negro slave, it robbed him of all his labor, and therefore of his life. Under the laws of American slavery, which had grown steadily harsher in the decades before the Civil War—manumission had become practically impossible, and it was a felony to teach a Negro to read or write in many states—the moral imperatives of the Ten Commandments were abrogated as far as slaves were concerned. Chief Justice Taney summed it up when, in the Dred Scott decision, he said that, under the Constitution, the Negro (free or slave) had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. I can therefore think of no good objection to either Nazism or Communism, that would not apply to the chattel slavery that once existed in this country. That the horrors inherent in the system might be tempered by the humanity of individuals is, I take it, no more excuse for slavery than for Communism. Meyer thinks that the Constitution of the United States as it resulted from the Civil War was less apt an instrument for liberty than it was before. Whatever the debit side of the ledger might show, certainly the credit side must show a mighty entry: the destruction of that reproach to everything sacred to the American mission in the world, American Negro slavery.

Meyer says that, in the conduct of the war, Lincoln intended "the permanent destruction of the autonomy of the states." Nothing could be further from the truth. To give but one example: Lincoln strove, with might and main, for gradual, compensated emancipation, by state, not federal action. The role of the Federal Government, as he recommended it during the war, would have been limited to underwriting the costs to the states. But he would have left the entire administration of the process in the hands of the states, which would have had until the year 1900 to complete the process. Lincoln strove in a thousand ways to preserve what was best in the political structure he had inherited. Emancipation by military proclamation was not a calculated means to abolish slavery, it was an obligation to the men in the ranks to neglect no means to end the war. The options available to a Commander in Chief, in the middle of a terrible conflict, are not what may appear to the leisurely commentator. Lincoln himself said, "I have not controlled events, events have controlled me." In many respects, Lincoln's leadership was a failure. His influence with Congress varied, but was seldom very great. He could not compel the government under his direction, or the people whose government it was, to live on the level of his own powerful logic, or his own transcendent compassion. Perhaps, in the end, it was far more important that he lived on that level himself; and that, in the manner of one of Shakespeare's tragic heroes, he revealed human possibilities that might not otherwise have come to light. As Woodrow Wilson once said, the phenomenon of Lincoln has made it possible to believe in democracy.

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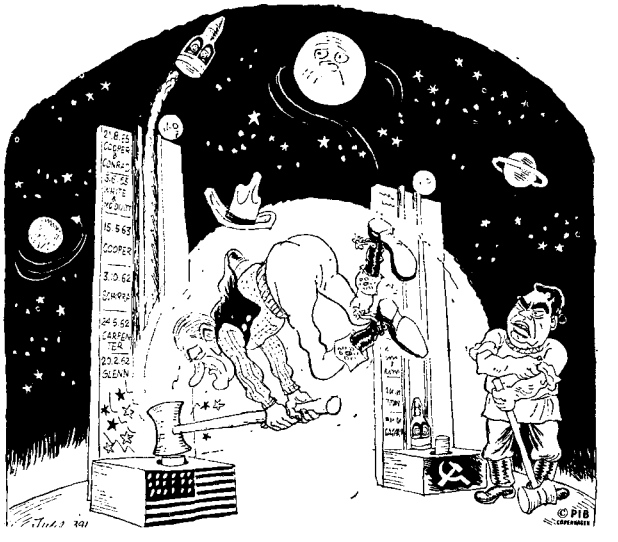
For The Record

Happily wed: LBJ and the 71 frosh Democratic congressmen swept into office with him last November. On first 66 roll calls of 89th Congress the freshmen voted with the President 83 per cent of the time. . . . In return, federal funds for sewers, airports, antipovertywarring etc. being channeled to districts represented by freshmen, with gravy heaviest in 43 districts that were narrowly won from Republican incumbents. . . . Credit for knocking down consular treaty with Russia, thought to be a Senate shoo-in, belongs to Republican senators Karl Mundt, Frank Carlson, John Williams, Bourke Hickenlooper, Democrats Thomas Dodd, Frank Lausche, with assist from David Lawrence whose syndicated column on the treaty pointed out that we would be giving Soviet diplomats unreciprocated privileges.

David Dubinsky, of ILGWU, blasted Sen. Fulbright last week for his new drive to ease restrictions on trade with Eastern Europe. "Credits, liberal trade terms and technical aid," said the Garment Workers' leader, "have never helped any dictatorship become democratic, peaceful or considerate of the needs of its people." . . . Unexpected: the demand by Liberal Sen. Birch Bayh (D., Ind.) that we break off ties with Indonesia until "Sukarno begins behaving more like a chief of state than a spoiled and dangerously mischievous little boy.". . . U. S. delegation to UN reportedly is confident the new move to seat Red China will be beaten back again this year. . . . A possible aid in the argument: the report by International Jurists that Chinese have to date killed 65,000 Tibetans, imprisoned 10,000, driven 100,000 into exile.

Not, so far as we've seen, reported in U. S. press: statement by American Negro turncoat, William Charles White, twelve years later, that "all Americans should take a trip to Red China—you wouldn't have to worry about Communism in the United States at all after that.". . . Another turncoat, Clarence Cecil Adams, doing the Tokyo Rose bit for the Vietcong over Radio Hanoi. His pitch is directed at Negro servicemen in South Vietnam. . . . East German government has just brought out a new "overpriced" postage stamp in support of Vietcong. Anyone buying ten-pfennig stamp pays surcharge of ten pfennigs, which goes to the VC. . . . Three representatives of National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, invited to London by Bertrand Russell's current peace front, were refused visas by British Government.

Dr. Hastings Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, to every one's surprise supporting Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia in his running quarrel with Britain over independence. It was right for Smith to warn Britain against using power to impose a constitutional conference on Rhodesia, said Dr. Banda. "I would have done the same thing in his position."



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Record Hunters

Suitable Replacement? Reported anxious to win congressional seat vacated by James Roosevelt (who has gone to UN): Steve Allen.

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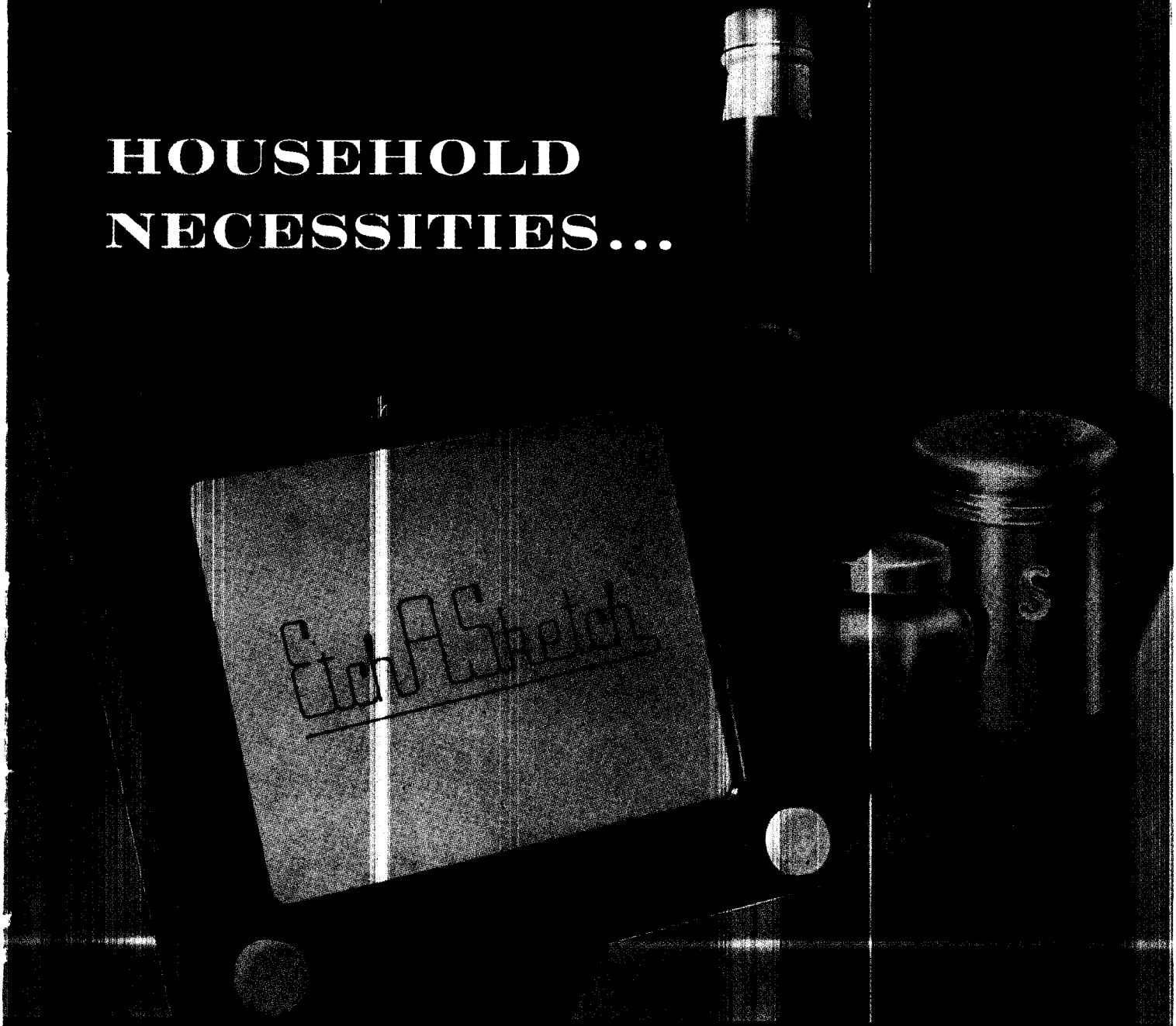

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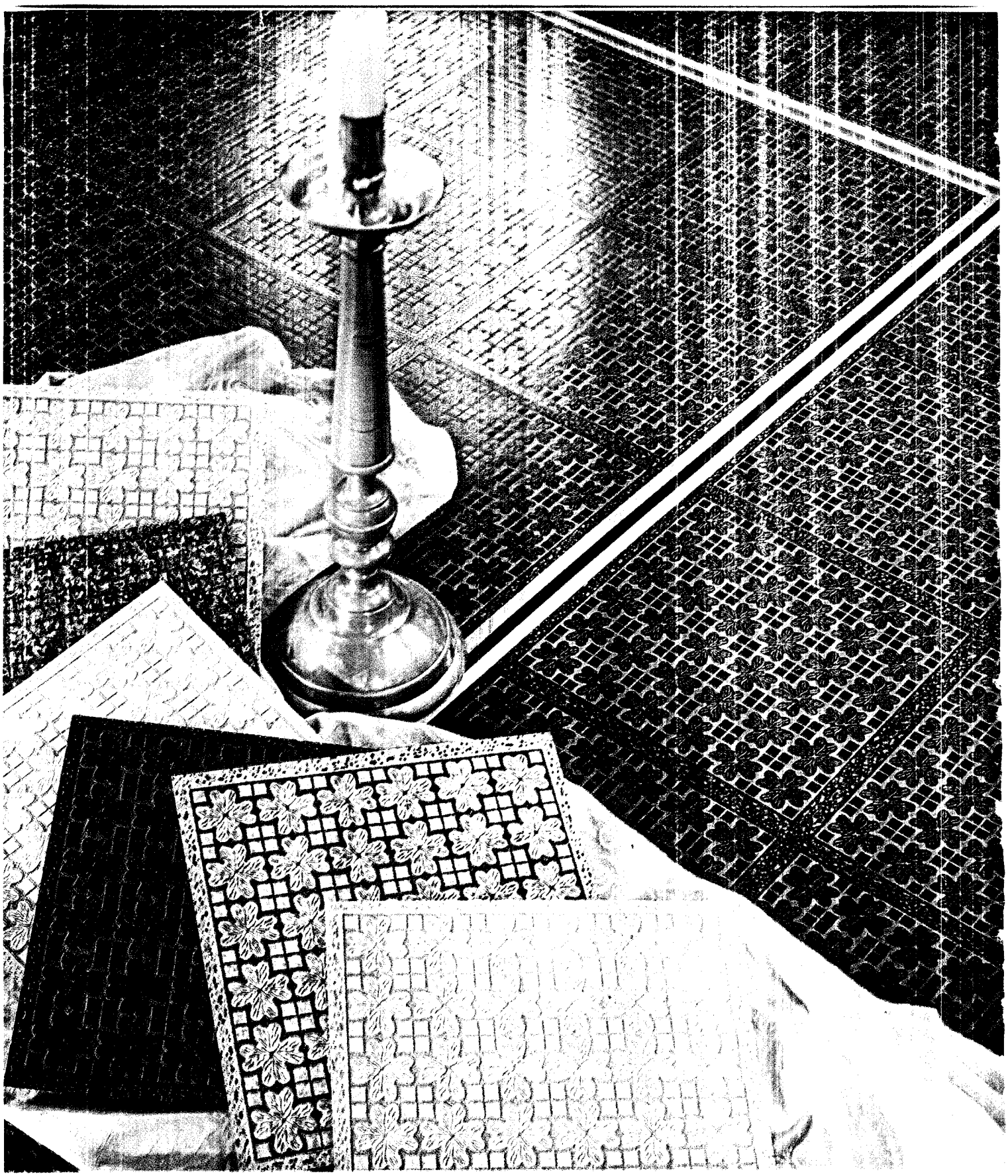

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